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The host-guest relationship and 'emotion management': perspectives and experiences of owners of small hotels in a major UK resort

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Award date:
2010

Awarding institution:
University of Bath

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**The host-guest relationship and ‘emotion management’:
perspectives and experiences of owners of small hotels in a
major UK resort**

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
University of Bath

School of Management

March 2010

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Acknowledgements

I thank the following people for helping me to complete this work.

Professor Stephen Fineman for his unfailing support and guidance throughout the development of this work. His critical and clear insights have been invaluable in challenging my thinking and helping me to develop my ideas.

My family – Gray Liz and Will - for their unquestioning belief, their constant encouragement and support, and above all their love. I dedicate this work to them.

Abstract

This thesis explores how the owners of 21 small hotels in a major UK resort perceived and experienced emotionalities surrounding the host-guest relationship, with a particular focus on employment of emotion management. The experiences of the owners of 5 large family hotels and the manager of a large corporate hotel were also captured in this study to provide an additional complementary 'layer' of data.

I employed narrative inquiry using semi-structured interviews to gain insights into how participants constructed and negotiated the host-guest relationship through emotion management. I was also interested in uncovering the wider emotionalities of contextual influences that might impact on that relationship, such as hoteliers' motivations and values. Adopting an inductive approach, my research was primarily informed by my interpretation of the concepts of 'emotion management' and the 'host-guest relationship'. Further, and consistent with this cross-disciplinary approach, the lenses of 'power' and 'identity' enhanced my understanding of research participants' experiences, particularly since these phenomena themselves play a role in the manifestation of both 'emotion' and 'hospitality'.

Whilst emotion management in its pecuniary form, as emotional labour, has been well documented in the corporate hotel sector, its manifestation in the smaller setting has been less clear. What I discovered in this study was that owners of small hotels employ an intriguing mix of emotion management strategies within a range of host roles adopted to establish and manage the boundaries of the host-guest relationship. An over-arching theme that emerged from the study was owners' concerns about guest suitability, particularly with regard to the 'dirty work' and/or 'risky work' they could present. A key influencing factor here was that the hotel also constituted the owner's 'home.' For the 'suitable' guest, hoteliers could demonstrate considerable scope for hospitableness through philanthropic and personalized emotion management. Hence what seemed to emerge was an image of the small hotel owner as an autonomous flexible emotion manager, relatively free to engage in human connectedness with the guest and capable of eschewing the strictures of customer sovereignty that can envelop corporate counterparts. Host-guest relationships that emerged generally appeared to satisfy both parties and were often long lasting, even taking on the status of 'friendships,' where host and guest engaged in reciprocal appreciation that seemed 'natural' and spontaneous.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

To introduce this thesis, I will explain how I came to be interested in this topic, the value of this study, and the research questions I chose to explore. I will also outline the structure of the thesis.

TOPIC CHOICE

The early stirrings of an interest in researching 'emotion' began when I became aware of contemporary perspectives and research studies on 'emotion in organisations'. Here I was particularly influenced by the work of, for example, Fineman (1993, 2000), Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), Gabriel (1999), and James (1993). I found studies of emotion in general to be fascinating and enlightening, presenting as they did a refreshing new 'window' on the study of organisations. However, it was the concept of emotional labour that particularly caught my imagination and interest, for two main reasons. First, I could relate to the phenomenon from a consumer perspective and, as such, based on my own experience, questioned the rationale behind it. Second, I found it interesting from an HR perspective, particularly in terms of how employee well-being might be affected by having to engage in such activity. My understanding of this concept deepened through engagement first with Hochschild's seminal work (1979, 1983), and subsequently with later contributors such as Harris (2002), Mann (1999), Morris and Feldman (1996), Taylor (1998) and Turnbull (1999).

However, my thinking developed further through Bolton's (2005a) ideas alerting me to a broader interpretation of 'managing emotion', with her conceptualisation of emotion management as a typology of four roles. I found her accommodation of emotion manager roles beyond a solely pecuniary focus (aligning with emotional labour), to be liberating, presenting as it did the possibility for emotion managers to 'manage emotion' in a variety of ways including for example, the emotion 'gift' of a philanthropic role. Hence this broader church of emotion management contrasts sharply with the strictures of rigidly enforced emotional labour. In embracing Bolton's ideas of 'emotion management' I also found I concurred with her thinking that by drawing on a wider repertoire of roles, the emotion manager can enhance the potential for 'human connectedness' in social relations such as customer service relationships. Bolton's work inspired me to want to know more about how emotion management might be played out in such service provider-customer relations, and particularly how a 'flexible' emotion manager might fare in comparison with an emotional labourer. Later studies contributed to my thinking here, for example Haman and Putnam (2008), Korczynski and Bishop (2008), and Tracy (2008). Hence I became interested in exploring how service providers 'manage' the emotionalities of customer service relationships through the lens of emotion management, which itself incorporates the concept of emotional labour within its broader interpretation.

Concurrent to developing my understanding of emotion management, I also became increasingly interested in how this is manifested in the hospitality industry. One reason for this was that I recognised the pervasiveness of emotional labour within the commercial hospitality sector, derived from both my personal experience as a consumer and my knowledge of studies by for example Guerrier and Adib (2003) and Ritzer (2004). However, my particular interest was how emotion is 'managed' in the small hotel setting. One reason for this interest was that I have known people who have run such establishments in the past. Secondly, I was aware that small establishments constitute a

considerable proportion of the UK hospitality sector, and my local town Bournemouth is typical in supporting a vast array of such businesses.

Drawing these ideas together, I was initially curious as to whether emotional labour is relevant to, and employed by, owners of small hotels, given that their need to be competitive but also recognising the control they can exert over their own businesses, such as fashioning prevailing feeling and display rules. However, as my understanding of emotion management developed, I broadened this interest to consider what forms of emotion management might be played out by the owners, to possibly include emotional labour (pecuniary emotion management) but also prescriptive, presentational and philanthropic approaches.

My thinking here continued to develop as further insights to the hospitality industry presented the potential for wider emotionalities to exist in the small hotel setting. For example, the concept of commercial home enterprises (after Lynch, 2005a) raised the issue of how the hotel as the owner's home might influence how he or she feels toward relationships with guests in that home/hotel hybrid. Additionally, Lashley's (2000) conceptualisation of hospitality and my insight into traditions that inform hospitality provision, presented further potential influences on how emotionalities in the small hotel setting might be manifested. For example, dealing with strangers (after O'Gorman, 2007 and Selwyn, 2000) presents a particular challenge to owners of small hotels, where the hotel also comprises the home. I was also aware of how the hospitality industry differs from other service industries, for example with its intrinsic 'dirty work'. This too could shape the emotionalities surrounding how host-guest relationships are managed.

I considered that a qualitative interpretive study would be appropriate to uncover the complexity and richness of these phenomena (emotion management and hospitality), particularly by employing a narrative approach. Through narrative, research participants can be encouraged to share their 'stories' and through these articulate their experiences of emotion. I hence decided that the most appropriate strategy would be to conduct semi-structured interviews with a small sample of owners of small hotels. I also considered that it would complement my findings to acquire the perspectives of a few owners of large family hotels and the manager of a corporate hotel. These owners and one manager thus constituted my research participants.

SIGNIFICANCE OF TOPIC

I considered that an investigation into how owners of small hotels perceive and experience the emotionalities of their relationships with guests, with a particular focus on how they employ emotion management, was significant in three main respects. First, as a study of 'emotion' this study contributes to the growing body of research into emotion in organisations (for example Albrow, 1992 and Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993) and supports the notion of the 'emotional organization' proposed by Fineman (2003). Hence, my study would add to the wealth of empirical support for the idea that people are centre stage of organisations. As such, investigating how their emotionalities shape their behaviour, for example in terms of how they 'manage' emotion, is worthy of research.

Second, by broadening the conceptual framework that informs my study to include a range of emotion manager roles beyond the confines of emotional labour, I provide empirical support for a broader interpretation of 'emotion management', as suggested by Bolton. Further, as my study is inductive, conceptual insights accrued from the data can

build on Bolton's typology of emotion management, to further develop conceptual models of this phenomenon.

Third, my study responded to calls for more qualitative research studies in hospitality (for example Lashley, Lynch and Morrison, 2007), and particularly the host-guest relationship. As such, my interest in the small hotel setting offers a counter-balance to studies of, for example, emotional labour in the commercial sector, and in large hotels in particular. Hence the emotionalities that emerged from the data I collected in the small hotel setting could inform hospitality provision in larger corporate hotels. This reflects Lashley's contention that commercial providers can learn from private hospitality, where the latter commonly characterises small hotels where the hotel is also the owner's home.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Drawing my lines of inquiry together, I formulated the following three principal research questions.

- 1. How do owners of small hotels interpret and experience the host-guest relationship?*
- 2. How do owners of small hotels interpret and employ 'emotion management', to establish and negotiate the host-guest relationship?*
- 3. How does the host-guest relationship affect, and become shaped by, 'emotion management' in the small hotel?*

CLARIFICATION OF TERMS

Throughout this thesis I refer to the 'host' in host-guest relationships. I interpret 'host' to be whoever provides hospitality to the guest. Hence for the small hotel, the 'host' is likely to be the owner(s). This may also be the case for large hotels, but additionally staff in large hotels such as receptionists, may also be considered hosts as they have direct dealings with the guests. I also refer to hotel owners as hoteliers.

STRUCTURE OF THESIS

Chapters 2 to 4 provide a critical review of literature that has informed my study. Here I have drawn principally on two areas of literature; 'emotion management' and 'hospitality'. Additionally, I have also explored the phenomena of 'emotion', 'power', and 'identity' that provide the underpinning to 'emotion management'.

Chapter 2 provides some background as to how I understand the phenomenon of emotion and how I have met its ontological and epistemological challenges. This is crucial in order to explain my research methodology, covered in Chapter 5. Also in Chapter 2, I explore how the phenomena of power and identity can influence how 'emotion' is experienced.

Chapter 3 then focuses specifically on how 'emotion management' can be understood and how it is manifested through emotion performance. Here I explore the 'private' and 'public' manifestations of emotion work, and how emotion is felt and displayed in social relations. Further, I draw on studies of emotional labour to consider what can be the consequences of engaging in emotion management and how emotion managers cope with its demands.

Chapter 4 explores the concepts that inform my choice of research setting, that is, the hospitality industry. I examine how 'hospitality' is interpreted and conceptualised, and how this is informed by its traditions and practices. In addition I examine host and guest perspectives of the host-guest relationship. For hosts, examining their motives and their engagement with hospitality work were relevant to my study. For the guest perspective, I was interested to explore trends in customer behaviour and how service providers perceive 'the customer'.

Chapter 5 details my methodology and research design. Here, I have also included detailed descriptions of my research settings (the hotels) and my research participants (the owners and one manager).

Chapters 6 to 8 present an analysis of my data, beginning with 'Emotionalities of the Host-Guest Relationship Context' in Chapter 6, then 'Emotion Management in Constructing the Host-Guest Relationship' in Chapter 7, and finally 'Emotion Management in Negotiating the Host-Guest Relationship' in Chapter 8.

Chapter 9 comprises a Discussion of my findings. This has been structured around five meta-themes that emerged as traversing my data analysis. These are; Host-Guest Matching, Host-Guest Relationship, Host Roles, Dirty Work and Risky Work, and Work-Life Balance.

Chapter 10 draws my thesis to a close by offering a synthesis of my discussion, together with the benefits and limitations of the study, and my personal reflections.

Chapter 2

CONCEPTUAL and CONTEXTUAL ASPECTS OF EMOTION

To underpin my focus on 'emotion management' in Chapter 3, this chapter examines how I have interpreted 'emotion' for the purposes of this study, with particular reference to how I have met its ontological and epistemological challenges. Also with a view to the two main phenomena constituting this study, 'emotion management' and the 'host-guest relationship', I have explored how power and identity may influence these two concepts.

EMOTION IN ORGANISATIONS

Acknowledgment that emotion exists in organisations has steadily grown over past decades, toward the idea that organisations can be usefully re-conceptualised with emotion – and people – placed centre stage (for example Albrow, 1992; Ashforth and Humphrey, 1995; and Fineman, 1993). Fineman (2000:1) for example refers to 'emotional arenas' to 'capture the intense activity of lived emotion in organizational life', and both Fineman and Ashforth and Humphrey agree that emotionality and rationality should be recognised as complementary and as co-existing. Hence for example, 'While emotions will play their part in the meaning-making process, they will also be a constituent of meanings themselves' (Fineman, 1993:14). However, they and others also acknowledge that an 'official', and perhaps selective view of organisational life has tended to portray organisations as rational entities, devoid of any 'interference' from feeling (for example Gabriel, 1999:211; Berman Brown, 1997:247). However, countering this somewhat bland and sanitised view of organisations, Fineman (2003:1) proposes an alternative model that arguably captures an understanding of organisational, and emotional, realities, the concept of the 'the emotional organization' that he argues 'places people at the very centre of organization – they constitute the organization, what it is and what it can achieve' revealing emotions as 'the prime medium through which people act and interact'. Hence, in contrast to early theories of emotion that tended to suggest a separation of 'thinking' and 'feeling' (for example, Lazarus, 1968) recent decades have seen developments in how emotion is understood, that emotion and cognition co-exist (for example Fineman, 1996).

ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF EMOTION

Whilst recognising the wealth of literature pertaining to 'emotion' *per se* (for example Averill, 1980, Harré, 1986, Lazarus, 1991), I found the work of three writers to be particularly helpful in understanding emotion for the purposes of my study of emotion management in an organisational setting. Hence I have drawn particularly on the work of Fineman, Gabriel and Parkinson in this regard. Parkinson (1995:4) for example captures the complexity of emotion in his interpretation that it is '...a concept, a social practice, a way of being-in-the-world. All this and more', that '...whatever is usually connoted by the term "emotion" is something more intricate, involved, and involving than directly felt qualities of consciousness'. Parkinson's interpretations here allude to the idea that emotion is more than a private 'within the person' experience, but rather a shared and socially fashioned phenomenon. Additionally, to distinguish between feeling and emotion, Gabriel, Fineman and Sims (2000:296) suggest that feelings are subjective experiences that inform us '...about the quality of our interactions and performances in the world', and that '...sometimes our emotional display matches our feelings, other times we choose not to reveal what we feel: we will disguise or fake our emotions because of how we believe we are going to be judged by others.'

To 'know' emotion Parkinson also offers a 'test' advanced by Clore, Ortony and Foss (1987) for determining whether or not words refer to emotion. Parkinson explains that Clore *et al* '...reasoned that certain terms are used to describe emotions only in certain particular circumstances and therefore do not constitute proper emotion names'. For example, 'feeling excluded' is an emotional state, but the term 'exclusion' is not usually thought of as an emotion. Parkinson continues that Clore *et al* consider that a '...proper emotion word...is one for which you can say that feeling it and being it are both equally considered to be emotional conditions'. So for this example 'feeling excluded' may be an emotional condition but 'being excluded' may not be. In contrast, Parkinson offers the example that '..."feeling angry" and "being angry" both clearly refer to emotional experiences'. The significance of Clore *et al*'s contribution is summarised by Parkinson who suggests that '...emotion terms already include some notion of feeling in them, whereas to make other terms refer to emotion you have to add the idea of feeling' (Parkinson, 1995:12). This is an important distinction that I found useful in interpreting emotion through the language used by my research participants to express what they had experienced and how they had felt.

Parkinson (1995:14) suggests that three levels of emotion as defined in the traditional view of emotion - intrapsychic, interpersonal and cultural - need to be considered together, based on the premise that emotion is better understood in interpersonal than solely intrapsychic terms. He illustrates this by suggesting that in reality we tend to think of emotional situations in relation to other people, not as solitary experiences and contends that in reality, when people engage in emotional discourse, they are not only describing their emotional experiences but are constructing those experiences through that discourse, as a means of presenting themselves to others. An earlier study by Rime, Mesquita, Philippot and Boca (1991:436-8) supports this view, that contrary to the popular belief of emotions as intrapersonal events to be '...buried as quickly as possible in the depth of memory, unnoticed by the person's social environment', the emotional process involves the social environment through 'social sharing of emotion' which involves '...re-evocation of the emotion in a social shared language'.

These views provide a counter view to traditional psychological traditions of interpreting emotion. Additionally, other schools of thought such as anthropology and sociology, suggest that to fully understand emotion, its social and cultural context needs to be taken into account, since people's emotions are shaped not only by what is physiologically 'wired' but by what is learned from the socio-cultural environment (Fineman, 1993: 10). Hochschild echoes this socio-cultural view of emotion, whilst recognising its traditional biological function. Thus she acknowledges its social role, suggesting that 'Feelings...are not stored "inside" us, and they are not independent of acts of management. Both the act of "getting in touch with " feeling and the act of "trying to " feel may become part of the process that makes the thing we get in touch with, or the thing we manage, into a feeling or emotion. In managing feeling, we contribute to the creation of it' (Hochschild, 1983: 18). Here, Hochschild's view illustrates the shift in thinking toward embracing psychological and sociological perspectives of emotion.

KEY PARADIGMATIC INFLUENCES ON 'KNOWING' EMOTION

To determine my own interpretation of how emotion can be perceived and known within my investigation of 'emotion management', I examined two key strands of thinking that have informed the study of emotion in recent decades, social constructionism and psychodynamic theory.

CONTRIBUTION AND LIMITATIONS OF SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

Social constructionism is generally attributed to writers such as Berger and Luckmann (1967) who contend that not only is knowledge (of society) socially constructed but that society comprises multiple socially constructed realities, reflecting the active creation of those realities by members of society. Gabriel, Fineman and Sims (2000:354) for example elucidate that social constructionism '...puts interacting individuals at the centre of their own universe as architects, more or less, of their own world views and meaning systems' and argue that social constructionists believe that '...when people act they do so on the basis of intersubjective understandings of a particular situation' that '...they define the situation in interaction, or negotiation, with others'. Fineman (1993: 10) further adds that social constructionism '...presumes no natural order to social arrangements. It draws attention to the fragility of many social patterns', a view that focuses on people as social actors contributing to the creation of social structures through the meanings they attach to their various roles. Hence as Fineman (1993:11) argues 'interpretation is a cornerstone to social constructionist thought', a sentiment echoed by Burr (2003:2-3). These ideas, that the (constructed) social world is subject to negotiation between the social actors creating it is consistent with the view of organizations as negotiated orders (Strauss, 1978; Watson, 2008).

Applying social constructionist thinking to emotion, Gabriel (1999:214) suggests that this challenges the traditional idea of emotions being derived from personal psychological states. Rather, echoing Parkinson's (1995) view of the limitations of the psychological traditions, Gabriel suggests that emotion is communicated through and shaped by culture (Gabriel, 1999:228). Commenting on a shift towards this line of thinking, Fineman (2000: 2) argues that 'Traditional psychoanalytical perspectives on workplace emotion have been relatively eclipsed by the growth of social constructionist approaches'. If one accepts the link between culture and emotion, a further contention from the social constructionist school is that different social settings and cultural events call for different emotional performances by social actors, where the actor interprets the social or cultural 'rules' governing the particular social situation. These rules then communicate what emotions are allowed or expect to be displayed, in that context (Fineman, 1993:15). As Fineman further infers, these conventions can be learnt through acculturation or may be consciously learnt to adapt 'performances' to different social contexts, much as stage actors learn new roles. I consider these insights particularly informative in interpreting 'emotion management'.

Further, what emerges from the social constructionist view of emotion is the importance of human agency, that individuals actively interpret social situations and create emotional displays appropriate to the context. The actor's own emotions are in turn shaped by their interaction with others, just as a stage performer responds to his audience (Goffman, 1959). This contrasts with the traditional image of emotional experience as passive and private (Parkinson, 1995:13). However another important perspective is that, as Fineman (1993: 16) argues, the 'unique reflexivity of human beings', means they can "work over", alone or with others, consciously or unconsciously, some of their internal states'. Hence the entwining of cognition and emotion can influence how the social actor behaves, for example deciding to what extent he will conform to emotional performances expected of him. So for example a hotelier feeling angry with a rude guest may resist the temptation to be rude back, assessing that it is preferable to maintain a mask of civility to avoid a confrontation that could upset other guests and damage his own reputation.

A manifestation of social constructionism that is particularly relevant to understanding emotion is the tradition of dramaturgy, which Fineman (1993:12) explains 'is rooted in the

social construction of self – the self as defined by others’. Hence this refers to how social actors make sense of the roles they are expected to portray, and how, using language and gestures for example, the actor expresses his own individuality to others, through those roles. Fineman (1993: 18) further observes ‘Dramaturgy in work settings can, in developed form, reveal some provocative insights into the tensions of emotional performance’. These insights reach to the heart of ‘managing’ emotion, how well the ‘actor’ performs a required role and how the performance is influenced by the role of the ‘audience’. Goffman (1971) has paid particular attention to the part played by the audience in this regard, or ‘other’, in such social interactions. His work will be examined later in this review in the context of emotion management performance in Chapter 3.

However, social constructionism is not without limitations. Burr (2003: 179) for example, suggests that it does not take account of the ‘self’ in terms of personality characteristics, attitudes, and motivations and so on ‘as well as the personal agency to realise these in behaviour’. Similarly, Gabriel (1999) contends that if we accept that individual differences make us unique as human beings, it can be reasonably argued that for any group of people expected to adopt the same emotional display, there will be different responses. Hence hoteliers for example may all be expected to be ‘welcoming’ toward guests, but their diverse personalities, backgrounds and motivations are likely to mean that this will be executed in quite different ways, ranging from an intimate friendliness to polite exchange. A further implication here is that adherence to emotion rules governing social and cultural conformity is unlikely to be uniform (Gabriel, 1999:214). Put another way, individuals are likely to vary in their ability to engage in an expected ‘emotional performance’. Further, Gabriel suggests that social constructionism cannot explain why sudden changes in emotion can occur as part of everyday experience, such as sudden feelings of anger or pleasure. Similarly, Fineman (1993:13) adds that whilst social constructionism is helpful in demonstrating that organizations are not devoid of emotion, it ‘...rarely asks where the emotions come from’, what lies ‘beneath the actor’s actions’. Here, he suggests, psychodynamic theory can offer a contribution.

CONTRIBUTION AND LIMITS OF PSYCHODYNAMIC THEORY

Fineman (1993:24) notes that there is no ‘one’ psychodynamic theory, although within this genre, the branch of psychoanalysis is of course generally attributed to Freud (1962). However, Fineman argues that, although approaches vary, they share some common elements. He suggests these are that one, ‘...that we are all prisoners of our personal history,’ two, ‘...we are unaware of some of our most basic motivations and feelings’, and three ‘...repressed feelings do not disappear from the psyche, but are held in check through various mechanisms of defence which disguise the conscious presentation of the feelings’.

To illuminate what is understood by ‘psychodynamic theories’ Fineman (2003:11) offers a helpful description, that ‘Our feelings today can be shaped by events of yesterday and yesteryear. We can relive old experiences in the present – but often not know why, or even when, because the original feelings are so buried and deep seated’. This captures the essence of the psychodynamic approach that as human beings we are shaped by our early life experiences, and that the feelings attached to those experiences do not disappear but can be re-awakened by current events. I also found his explanation useful that psychodynamic theory is about working with our pasts, drawing on our personal histories and biographies, which ‘...are activated by, or in, the daily encounters of working...It is an emotional substructure imported from our experience in becoming, and continuing to become, a person’ (Fineman, 1993:23). He argues that as such, our personal past, our future expectations, and the present, all interact. This insight is

particularly valuable for my study using narrative inquiry to explore hoteliers' experiences.

A difference with the social constructionist sense of 'meaning', as transient and interactive, is that in psychodynamics, meaning is more rooted in existential perspectives, that we find meaning through our identity, our purpose to be and to continue to be (Fineman, 1993:24). However, as Fineman points out, to follow this approach we need to accept the central premise of the unconscious; that '...we do not always know, or want to know, why we do what we do; it is just too painful. We need to look beyond the roles we play in order to appreciate the full context of the emotional meanings we attach to events and activities. The meanings are displaced and distorted products of our elemental fear and anxieties'. I found this explanation helpful as a reminder of the innate difficulties involved in 'knowing' emotion derived from past experience.

With regard to psychoanalysis, Gabriel argues that psychoanalytic theory can enhance an understanding of emotion by '...identifying where emotions come from and how they fit into the overall biographies of organizations or individuals'. He suggests that this approach involves thinking of emotions as '...driving forces in human affairs' rather than as simply instruments of interpersonal communication. In this sense, Gabriel argues that emotion '...lies at the heart of human motivation - emotion is motivation' (Gabriel, 1999: 215). However, a criticism of the psychodynamic approach is that the terms 'emotion' and 'feeling' may be used interchangeably, not distinguishing for example between emotions that derive from the social situation itself and subjective feelings that inform us about our social interactions. So for example an hotelier's wariness about accepting a scruffily dressed guest can be juxtaposed with instinctive feelings of hospitableness toward strangers. Thus the source and meaning of displayed emotion may be confused and conflated. Secondly, as Fineman notes, emotions are themselves culturally defined, experienced as a result of being produced by a particular culture and expressed through language intrinsic to that culture (Fineman, 1996 cited in Gabriel 1999:228). Here, Gabriel accepts that there is some justification for the view that psychology '...has blurred the distinctions between emotional experience and emotional display, disregarding the social influences on emotions' (Gabriel, 1999: 229).

A further concern for Fineman is that psychodynamic thinking approaches all emotion as irrational and all irrationality as dysfunctional. Gabriel's response to this is that in reality this perspective is probably rare, though he certainly acknowledges a tendency for psychoanalysts to dwell on the negative and dysfunctional role of emotion. So a tendency to be negative may arise because it can be difficult to define when emotions change, along a positive-neutral-negative continuum, the changes themselves being constructed by the particular social setting. Thus taking the social constructionist approach into account could 'allow' for variations in interpreting the positivity and negativity of emotion, for different social situations.

WORKING WITH PSYCHODYNAMIC AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST PERSPECTIVES

Drawing on both the contributions and limitations of psychodynamic and social constructionist approaches, I concur with Gabriel (1999:229), who proposes that psychoanalysis and social constructionism can learn from one another, 'the former by appreciating how individual emotional experiences engage with codes of emotional display and the latter by appreciating that individuals cannot be considered as actors capable of any emotional performance'.

I considered these two perspectives to be helpful for my own study, to capture not only the

social sharing of socially constructed emotion, but to suggest how this might be shaped by psychodynamic influences. Employing both paradigms is also consistent with using narrative to 'know' emotion, as I did in my study. As Fineman (2005: 9-10) explains, one approach to interpreting narrative is for the researcher to act as a psychoanalyst and look for the encoded emotion to decipher hidden emotion messages. However, he points out that this can 'camouflage rather than demonstrate, what is emotionally significant'. Alternatively, he suggests the researcher can adopt a post-modern perspective, perceiving that feeling and emotion can be known 'as narrative or textual representations', the assumption here being that emotion is 'ever-evident, always expressed, always on the move, always socially produced and contextualised'. However, my adoption of both approaches aligns with Fineman's contention that 'to an extent, it is possible to work with both paradigms in any single investigation.' Additionally I also recognise the contribution from Theodosius (2008:894) who attempts to 'recover' hidden unconscious emotion from emotion management by considering it from a relational stance. She proposes that 'although conscious, cognitive management of emotion is clearly possible, emotion is also associated with irrational action, often overriding attempts to control or manage it' (Theodosius, 2008: 899). She thus suggests that by examining expressed emotion beyond for example its association with prevailing feeling rules, 'other' emotion, possibly emerging from the unconscious mind or in response to interaction with 'another's emotion, may be identified. These contributions from Fineman and Theodosius will be particularly helpful in interpreting emotion experiences in my study, from both paradigms.

SOCIOLOGICAL INFLUENCES ON UNDERSTANDING EMOTION

I have also found it valuable to draw on Bolton's (2005a) work. She too recognises the physiological basis of emotionality but argues that 'the sociology of emotion must concentrate on the public face of emotion' and that 'a balance ought to be found between emotion as an agential experience and emotion as a cultural artefact' (Bolton, 2005a: 69). Here she suggests that social constructionism itself is concerned with this very debate, where 'at the one end social actors are free and unfettered and at the other they are social puppets, whose strings are firmly tied to (and pulled by) social structures'. She cites Kemper (1990) as arguing that 'virtually every sociologist of emotions acknowledges a physiological substrate to emotions. The debate turns on how important it is'. Hence Bolton (2005: 72) concludes that 'whatever physiological roots human emotions have they are heavily overlaid with social conditions' and 'the boundary between Kemper's "physiological substrate" of emotion and the patterning imposed by socialisation is impossible to identify in many cases', for example the extent to which emotional expression in a given situation is spontaneous or socially constructed, a point that concurs with Theodosius' view.

Bolton elucidates that social constructionists vary in how they depict the social actor as an 'emotional self,' from Durkheimian portrayals of restricted individual agency to Silverman's alignment with the negotiated nature of social interaction. Bolton builds on this background to introduce the notion of the actor as an emotion manager, giving greater emphasis to the idea of agency. She posits her argument on the assumption that 'social actors define their identity as individuals in terms of their capacity to manage their emotions in particular ways, depending upon the levels of commitment to various "moral orders"' (Bolton, 2005a: 76). In summary, she contends that 'emotions are actively "managed" by people according to the "rules" of a particular situation, set within a wider structure of cultural beliefs and values' (Bolton, 2005a: 78). I considered that Bolton's insights here illuminated the influence of wider social influences on the individual as an emotion manager.

I also found it instructive to consider the alignment of sociological perspectives of emotion with the symbolic interactionist strand of sociological thought, which is itself located within the social constructionist paradigm (Bolton, 2005a: 69). Symbolic interactionism is grounded in the work of Mead, Blumer and Cooley, and as Watson points out is one approach within the interactionist school of sociological theory. Here, he explains interactionism as concerning 'focus on the individual, the small group and on meanings' (Watson, 2008:47). This approach to understanding people in society emphasises the active and creative capacity of individuals within that society. As Watson (2008:48) explains, 'the individual and society are inseparable units; their relationship is a mutually interdependent one, not a one-sided deterministic one'. I recognised the value of drawing on this perspective in interpreting the emotion experiences I uncovered in my study, particularly with regard to the small hotel setting where hoteliers and guests are in close proximity. Further, the symbolic interactionist perspective aligns with notions of identity, which itself has also informed my understanding of emotion experiences and which I will examine later in this chapter.

Watson (2008:48) explains how symbolic interactionists perceive the role of identity, contending that 'Human beings construct their realities in a process of interaction with other human beings. Individuals derive their very identity from their interaction with others', through what Mead refers to as the consciousness of self. As Tucker (1998) observes, Mead's argument is that we learn self-consciousness thorough understanding ourselves in relation to 'the other' and that we do this through exchanging symbols (or clues as to our own and others' behaviour). In this context, Tucker (1998:45) argues that central to this approach is Mead's conceptualisation of self as reflexive, that 'This active process of understanding and acting on oneself also applies to other contexts, in that people continually make all of reality meaningful by interpreting events and actions', that 'People do not respond to social life in a mechanistic, predetermined way'. I will explore how personal and social identities are understood and interrelate, later in this chapter. However, suffice it to say here that the implication of symbolic interactionist thinking is that individual identity is firmly grounded in the social setting, pointing to the significance of social identity in human behaviour. Arguably this approach attends to the detail of human interaction; what we notice and respond to in interaction with one another, tone of voice, facial expression, gesture and the use of language and so on. This insight could be valuable in interpreting how hoteliers 'assess' guest suitability for example.

It is also important to note that this process of interpretation is shaped by assumptions and beliefs that people bring to those interactions (Tucker, 1998), which for hoteliers could include their own values and prejudices. As Tucker observes, Goffman's work on face-to-face interaction is particularly illuminating, revealing how we 'present' ourselves in everyday life. However, it has to be recognised that as an approach to interpreting human behaviour, symbolic interactionism can be criticised for its focus on the 'small scale' and not attending to the wider phenomena that are the primary concerns of other branches of sociological thinking; for example, Weber and Marx (Giddens, 1997). Hence it is important to recognise the influence of, for example, macro emotionalities on social interaction (Fineman, 2008).

Another strand of sociological thinking I found useful was the idea of organisations as 'negotiated orders' (Strauss, Ehrlich, Bucher and Sabshin, 1963). Drawing on his work in a psychiatric hospital, Strauss (1978:2,11) explained negotiations as 'one of the possible means of "getting things accomplished" when parties need to deal with each other to get those things done' and that it is used in ' "making things work" or making them "continue to work"'. Thus he suggests that the process of negotiation can be considered as a 'challenge and response encounter...(where) the offers themselves become an exercise

in power' (Strauss, 1978: 8). I found this idea particularly valuable in interpreting the negotiated nature of the host-guest relationship, together with an interpersonal view of emotion.

Strauss also highlights the relevance of negotiations, both explicitly and implicitly, to the interactionist school of thought, but notes the question of whether social order can be separated from negotiated order. Here, he depicts negotiated order as the ongoing day-to-day negotiations that happen within organisations, through networks of relationships and interdependence, to produce workable arrangements for continuation of that order. He notes that the social settings in which these take place can both influence and be influenced by those negotiations, summarising that 'a given social order, even the most repressive, would be inconceivable without some forms of negotiation' (Strauss, 1978: 235). Strauss hence contends that 'social orders are, in some sense, always negotiated orders', his caveat of 'in some sense' acknowledging that there can be other ways to 'get things done' (such as coercion, manipulation or persuasion).

However, Strauss' ideas are not without criticism, as he himself notes, for example, concerns about the subjectivity of the actors involved and a perceived emphasis on cooperative relations rather than notions of conflict within macro power structures. This is a view I took into account when interpreting social interactions in my own study, for example to what extent hoteliers exerted agential control in customer interactions, and to what extent did they seem 'controlled by' the 'power' of customer sovereignty. However, As Giddens (1997:567) observes, an on-going theoretical dilemma for sociologists is the balance between human action and social structure, to what extent can we be 'creative human actors, actively controlling the conditions of our own lives? Or is most of what we do the result of general social forces outside our control?' As Giddens notes, whilst this issue continues to divide sociological thought, only symbolic interactionism stresses the former stance, in contrast to, for example, functionalist and structuralist approaches. Giddens' insights served to remind me how 'micro' and 'macro' perspectives of power can influence social interactions. I will consider the influence of power in more detail in the next section.

THE INFLUENCE OF POWER

It was relevant to my focus on both emotionality and hospitality to develop my understanding of power in terms of how it might influence these phenomena and be manifested in my study. Here, I found Hardy and Clegg's (2006) overview useful of how conceptualisations of power have evolved. For example, they identify structural, institutional and illegitimate power, of which I particularly recognise structural power as being relevant to my study, for example in terms of how hotel grading systems and customer sovereignty might impact on the work of hoteliers. Further, as with other writers, such as Linstead Fulop and Lilley (2009), Hardy and Clegg depict the notion of negotiated power. Here, they cite Pettigrew (1977) who refers to the work of Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood (1980) and Frost (1989) in suggesting that political actors perceive power more in terms of their ability to create spheres of influence where they can be perceived as holding a legitimate dominant position, rather than seeing the mobilisation of power as winning and losing.

However, Hardy and Clegg (2006:762) acknowledge that 'the arrival of Foucault on the power scene posed a fundamental challenge by sounding the death-knell of sovereignty. The idea that power could be exercised strategically and successfully against intended targets was deeply embedded in the views of critical and management theorists alike. In disposing of sovereignty, Foucault's work transformed the study of power through the way

it introduced the idea of disciplinary power, de-centred the subject and laid the foundations for new notions of resistance'. Here, Falzon (1998:43) notes that Foucault's thinking was informed by Nietzsche who viewed power as a 'multiplicity of forces in relations of tension with one another', contrasting with the Hegelian view of a dialectical interpretation of power, where power can be considered as an external force impacting on the ability of individuals to be 'self-determining, fully autonomous beings'. In contrast to Hegel, the Foucauldian stance positions the individual as involved in their social practices, so that power, rather than opposing individual autonomy, 'is continuous with concrete human existence and social life' (Falzon, 1998:44). It can be argued that Foucault's approach to power aligns with the notion of emotion as a shared interpersonal phenomenon (Parkinson, 1995), that for social actors engaged in emotional exchanges, power flows can both influence those emotions and be influenced by them. For example, where host and guest in a small hotel negotiate a change to the stated meal times, emotional expression between them can influence the degree of compromise that is achieved, and in whose favour.

Interpretations of Foucault's work that are significant to my study are threefold. One is the idea of power being embedded in everyday life, existing as a web of power relations that can arise from cultural practice (Hardy and Clegg, 2006:763). Second is the idea that knowledge and power are inseparable, with language facilitating their different representations (Hardy and Clegg, 2006: 765). And third is the contention that, since discourses that inform power are not fixed but subject to negotiation and change, 'within these gaps, contradictions and tensions that reside within and among discourse lays the potential for people to exercise their agency' (Hardy and Clegg, 2006: 766). So the picture could emerge in my study of the host and guest utilising bodies of knowledge at their disposal to negotiate power between them, for example, to satisfy their respective emotional needs. A 'gap' could be, for example, how hosts and guests interpret the cultural symbolism of a 'dress code', which could be used by either to negotiate an acceptable compromise, such as whether 'smart' means wearing a tie or whether slippers are permitted at breakfast. A particular application could also be where the hotelier, as an emotion manager, identifies a gap in prevailing emotion rules and identifies the potential to interpret these flexibly, permitting the philanthropic gesture of emotion as a 'gift', rather than as a commodity to be exchanged within fixed parameters (Bolton, 2005a). Here, 'discourses' are 'bodies of knowledge' rather than simply the use of language (McHoul and Grace, 1995:26). Thus discourses can provide the means for representing individuals' different 'realities', such as how people 'represent' their perceptions and experiences of emotion. However, as McHoul and Grace observe (1995:19) although Foucault '...is more than dubious about notions of absolute truth' they note that 'this does not mean that "there is no truth"', that 'On the contrary, there can sometimes be many, each with its own rationality. But the question is; which of these, at any given period comes to predominate and how?'

Fineman (2008:3) echoes the significance of more recent interpretations of power, in the context of the construction and experience of emotion. Drawing on other contributors he suggests that 'Power is said to reside in the way existing narratives of value and feelings are impressed on people, often in unnoticed ways'. Fineman explains that this can result in dominant emotionologies shaping how emotion is interpreted and expressed. Here, arguably, emotionologies represent potentially powerful discourse that can shape emotion experiences. However he points out that the degree to which individual agency shapes the 'repertoires and norms of emotion' within these macro influences, is debatable'. An example here could be Bolton's (2002:129) depiction of how nurses have changed the way they manage emotions in the light of socio-economic political change manifested as 'new public sector management', where patients are renamed 'customers'. Bolton argues

that 'Nurses now find themselves having to present the detached, calm, but caring, face of the health professional whilst also having to present a smiling face to patients who now behave as demanding customers'.

Fineman's (2008:4) contention is that a critical examination of macro power influences on the way emotion is constructed and experienced help us to make sense of 'how we are and what we feel', even where some critical commentators suggest a 'post emotional phase' where emotionologies do not so much serve 'social mores and social concerns' as provide fleeting transient images of 'emotion experience'. However, as Fineman also notes, and reflecting Foucault's stance on power relations, 'A critical lens also brings into focus the micro-politics and power-flows of different emotions crucial to workaday feelings and meaning' and that 'these processes are best understood as emotional arenas' (Fineman, 1993, 2000).

Developing a relational view of power, McHoul and Grace (1995:21, 84) further assert that 'for Foucault, power is always a discursive relation rather than something which a person wields or bears'. Hence, they observe that in Foucauldian terms power is not 'owned' or pursued by the strong to dominate the weak (Foucault, 1977), that Foucault's notion of 'power relation' means that 'Power is nothing more and nothing less than the multiplicity of force relations of possibility...' (and) 'we are "positioned" within any struggle only as a consequence of the existence of a struggle for power'. This notion of force relations aligns with the idea of 'everyday' emotion work, where social actors 'exchange' emotional currency within prevailing 'feeling rules' (Hochschild, 1983).

A further important implication of Foucault's ontology of power is that it can be considered as challenging modernity by contending that power results from, rather than causes, a pre-existing relationship between sovereign (the person wielding power) and subject (the person affected by power). It could be argued that this stance challenges traditional interpretations of hospitality, where some guests might expect 'servitude' rather than service and a certain level of deference. What is interesting when examining the host-guest relationship from Foucault's perspective is to consider whether this relationship, based on pre-existing assumptions and expectations, is reinforced or modified through emotional exchanges between the two parties. In other words, to what extent does emotion act as a vehicle to shift, or to reaffirm, the power balance? Arguably movement is possible, such as the small hotel owner who exercises autonomy to refuse 'unsuitable' guests, as much as the reinforced position where for example guests demand, and get, whatever they want, for example from a compliant commercial provider who abides by company emotion rules. An implication then, for host-guest relationships, is a re-appraisal of customer sovereignty.

The role of human agency in power relations is relevant here, where Falzon (1998:52) observes that 'freedom for Foucault is our capacity or power to act. So understood, our freedom is shaped, formed and directed by our social context, by the forms of life in which we exist', but that 'being an active human being also means not just passively reproducing socially imposed forms in one's conduct, but also being able to revolt, to transgress existing limits'. Such 'testing' of limits is reflected in emotion management where, for example, an emotion manager may choose to adopt different 'levels' of emotional engagement with the 'other', through surface or deep acting (Hochschild, 1983; Noon and Blyton, 2007).

Linked to the issue of human agency, another important perspective of power relations is their interrelationship with the notion of identity. Here, Hardy and Clegg (2006:763) interpret Foucault's position on identity as arguing that 'the subject, decentred, relative, is

acknowledged not as a stable constellation of essential characteristics, but as a socially constructed, socially recognized, category of analysis' (citing Clegg and Hardy, 1996:3). This view is consistent with the post-modern view of identity as malleable and dynamic in nature, rather than being 'fixed'. Hardy and Clegg reinforce this, adding that 'Identity is complex: it is embedded in the webs of power that permeate social practices. Identity is also contingent; constantly (re) emerging out of the discourse in which it is positioned, even those identities which seek to oppose, resist or transgress the discourse' (Hardy and Clegg, 2006: 764). I will now explore 'identity' in more detail, as I perceive it to be relevant to my study.

THE INFLUENCE OF IDENTITY

To make sense of 'identity' as pertinent to my study, I needed to consider how 'identity' itself is understood. Here, Alvesson, Ashcraft and Thomas's (2008) recent contribution is useful, drawing as it does on recent identity research that explored interpretations and interrelations of personal and social identity. They suggest, 'identity loosely refers to subjective meanings and experience, to our ongoing efforts to address the twin questions, "Who am I?" and – by implication – "How should I act?"' They thus contend 'One's personal identity implies certain forms of (often positive) subjectivity and thereby entwines feelings, values and behaviour and points them in particular (sometimes conflicting) directions' (Alvesson *et al*, 2008:6). An interrelationship between identity and emotion is clearly implied here. Further, in terms of the 'durability' of identity, they assume that 'the presence of multiple, shifting and competing identities, even as we also question how identities may appear orderly and integrated in particular situations'. It can be inferred from this view that the link between interpreting 'Who am I?' and 'How do I act?' is complex and variable, thus reflecting the challenges inherent in understanding this phenomenon.

Distinguishing between personal identity and social identity, Alvesson *et al* (2008:10) argue that the former 'typically refers to unique personal attributes – those assumed as not being shared with other people, or seen as a mark of group belonging' whilst the latter 'refers to an individual's perception of him or herself as a member of a group, particularly in terms of value and emotion attachment'. They further contend that these concepts can be integrated, may overlap and can co-exist, for example where there is a personalized slant to a social identity. Parallels can be drawn here with the intrapsychic and interpersonal perspectives of emotion (Parkinson, 1995). Alvesson *et al* (2008) go on to suggest that to explain the co-existence of the two forms, some theories (symbolic interactionism and social identity theory) stress the 'relational dimensions of identity' whilst other perspectives 'connect personal and social identities by recognizing discourse and communication...as the central material and mechanism, of identity production' (Alvesson *et al*, 2008:10).

Hence it could be argued that constructing identity means individuals draw on discourses available to them (for example, emotion and power) and employ these to make sense of their relationships with others. This is reflected in the view that social constructionist theorists often argue (a) 'that personal identities are negotiated – created, threatened, bolstered, reproduced and overhauled – through ongoing, embodied interaction, and (b) for both form and substance, personal identities necessarily draw on available social discourses or narratives about who one can be and how one should act' (Alvesson *et al*, 2008:11). These concerns reflect Fineman's observation of how changing emotionologies influence how individuals perceive and interpret their emotional experiences, thus reinforcing the interrelationship between identity and emotion.

Relevant to the experiences of my research participants, Alvesson *et al* (2008:12) explain identity construction as concerning 'understanding how individuals deal with their complex and often ambiguous and contradictory experiences of work and organization' (Alvesson *et al* 2008:14). Here, they argue that a key concept is identity work, which is 'the ongoing mental activity that an individual undertakes in constructing an understanding of self that is coherent, distinct and positively valued' (Alvesson *et al* 2008:15), adding that 'the emphasis for much of the writing on identity work is on becoming, rather than being'. Linking this to emotion, they say that 'Conscious identity work is thus grounded in at least a minimal amount of self doubt and self openness, typically contingent upon a mix of psychological existential angst and complex or problematic social situations'. The importance of identity work in the production of identity is reinforced by Watson (2008:129) who adds that 'identity' work' is involved in negotiating between personal and social identities, where identity work 'involves mutually constitutive processes whereby people strive to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive notion of personal self-identity and struggle to come to terms with, and, within limits, to influence the various social-identities which pertain to them in the various milieux in which they live their lives'. A picture therefore emerges of individuals 'working at' creating and shaping their personal and social identities within wider macro influences, including discourses that inform these.

Fineman (2008:5) too points to the significance of identity work that 'identity narratives are, as post-modern theorists suggest, in flux, a flux to be addressed through identity work'. Illustrating an implication this has for identity and emotion he adds that 'As a concept, identity work draws attention to the feelings and meaning that are ongoing as actors "work" on their identities – individually and socially 'and that it is 'invariably emotional...(and) is likely to be particularly burdensome when imputed attributes are received as disruptive, discordant, or, in the extreme, denigrating'. This could be relevant to how hoteliers might be perceived and perceive themselves, in the context of doing 'dirty work' for example. Fineman adds that 'identity work leads to the conclusion that identity, rather than being a fixed "thing", is a continuous social-emotional process of becoming' (Fineman, 2008:6).

Adopting a similar stance to identity construction, Simpson and Carroll explore how 'role' can be better understood as part of the identity construction process. They review different strands of thought here, including dramaturgy, which they argue conceptualises roles as different social 'masks' that actors may choose to adopt in their ongoing constructions of both self and society'. Here they add that interactionist thinking sees role 'as a prop in the staging of identity performances' (Simpson and Carroll, 2008:30). Their concern is that 'If "role" is to take place in the context of contemporary identity construction, then it will require reframing and redefinition so that it can articulate with, and inform, a flux oriented approach to identity. Hence they suggest reframing 'role' as 'an intermediary translation device that sits within the relational process of identity construction' (Simpson and Carroll, 2008: 33). They contend that this is appropriate to align with identity construction as a 'dynamic, relational process'. Hence their idea is that role is located 'in-between actors, where it facilitates the emergence of identities by translating meanings backwards and forwards between actors'. In this way they contend, 'role may be seen as a vehicle that mediates and negotiates the meanings constructed in relational interactions, while itself being subject to ongoing reconstruction in these relational processes'. This has implications for hoteliers in terms of what roles they can, and should, adopt to manage emotion in the host-guest relationship and to what extent these roles are 'fixed' or 'fluid'. So for example, can they welcome the guest as a stranger and say goodbye to them as a friend? Can 'professionalism' work alongside 'friendliness'? How do hoteliers manage blurring of the boundaries between these? I anticipated

encountering such questions in my study and in that regard found Simpson and Carroll's work helpful.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The main points in this chapter that I consider particularly relevant for my study of 'emotion management' are:

- 'Emotion' is most usefully understood as an interpersonal phenomenon influenced by intrapsychic sources.
- 'Emotion' can be distinguished from 'feeling', where the former refers to expressed display of feeling and the latter to subjective experiences that inform how we perceive our interactions with others.
- Language used to articulate emotion and feeling can illuminate their respective interpretations.
- Two main paradigms influence ontological and epistemological interpretations of emotion; social constructionism and psychodynamic theory. Both have their strengths and limitations and I consider that my research would benefit from working with both paradigms. Thus I consider that I can 'identify' and 'know' emotion as both produced within social interaction and derived from the individual nature of the social actors themselves, engaged in those interactions.
- Locating emotion experiences within wider sociological perspectives is also valuable in terms of interpreting organisations as negotiated orders where symbolic interactionism illuminates the nature of negotiations that occur. Additionally, sociological thinking reminds me that 'micro' social and emotional exchanges take place within 'macro' social contexts, which has implications for the relative 'freedom' with which each social actor (as an emotion manager) can act.
- The sociological perspective aligns too with an appreciation of conceptualising 'power' from both 'macro' and 'micro' perspectives. Here, whilst recognising examples of the former such as customer sovereignty, I am persuaded by the relevance of Foucault's take on power to help me understand the emotion experiences of participants in my study.
- With regard to 'identity' I consider an awareness of the overlap between personal and social identities to be particularly valuable in, for example, interpreting how hoteliers' sense of themselves interrelates with the social identities they wish to portray through their hotels. Here, I also find the notion of 'role' as a dynamic relational phenomenon to support shifting identity construction, to be persuasive.

Chapter 3

'EMOTION MANAGEMENT'

EMOTION WORK AND SOCIAL ORDER

My discussion of 'emotion management' begins with explaining 'emotion work' that is commonplace to both 'private' and 'public' emotion domains, where the latter includes organisation settings. Here I consider Hochschild's (1979:561) explanation of 'private' emotion work as '...the act of trying to change in degree or quality an emotion or feeling' to be instructive for my study. She argues that this is a broader notion than emotion control (which is about stifling or suppressing emotion), since emotion work refers to '...the act of evoking or shaping, as well as suppressing, feeling in oneself.' Fineman (2003:20-21) concurs pointing out that this can be hard work, particularly when we are 'battling with ourselves'. Hence, arguably, in circumstances where our inner feelings do not 'fit' the situation in which we find ourselves, there may be tension between what we ought to feel or express and what we really feel. This overlap of personal and social awareness is reflected in Hochschild's (1979:563) observation that people become aware of emotion work most often when their feelings do not fit a particular situation, instances where 'the latter does not account for legitimate feelings in the situation'. Such awareness could apply to small hotel owners struggling to 'feel' convivial when battling the tiredness created by a busy season. Fineman (1993) echoes this point, suggesting that emotion work involves both the effort in presenting and representing our feelings, and in feeling what we ought to feel to comply with socially accepted norms.

THE ROLE OF FEELING RULES

In the context of emotion work, Hochschild (1983: 57) introduces the idea of 'feeling rules' that govern the process of everyday social exchanges involving private emotional systems. She explains that their purpose is to signal to us, as social actors, what we ought to be feeling inside, and what we ought and ought not to display, in particular circumstances. These rules or emotion conventions are learnt through the sharing of cultural norms and expectations in different social contexts, and give us guidelines as to how to behave. Hence as Hochschild argues, 'Acts of emotion management are not simply private acts; they are used in exchanges under the guidance of feeling rules'. Here, she defines emotion management as '...the type of work it takes to cope with feeling rules' (Hochschild 1979:551) and feeling rules as '...standards used in emotional conversation to determine what is rightly owed and owing in the currency of feeling' (Hochschild, 1983:18). Thus feeling rules guide emotion work by establishing a sense of entitlement or obligation that governs emotional exchanges. Hence feeling rules signal appropriate 'exchange of feeling' between people. She explains,

Through them, we tell what is "due" in each relation, each role...We pay tribute to each other in the currency of the managing act. In interaction, we pay, overpay, underpay, play with paying, acknowledge our dues, pretend to pay, or acknowledge what is emotionality due another person (Hochschild, 1983: 18)

Hochschild adds that it is possible to assess our own feelings and how others assess our emotional displays, by applying general feeling rules to feelings and emotional displays. In other words, we can compare our felt and expressed emotion to the 'norm' established by a particular feeling rule and from these secondary reactions to feeling, we can postulate the existence of rules. So for example, one might assess the spontaneity or genuineness of a smile, as a host greets her guests. Hochschild suggests that to identify feeling rules,

one can focus on 'the pinch between "what I do feel" and " what I should feel", for at this spot we get our best view of emotional convention' (Hochschild, 1983:57).

Hochschild (1983:58) also refers to 'rule reminders', which she suggests inform us as to how we ought to be feeling in different circumstances (assuming that it is possible to normalise what should be felt in a given situation). She argues that rule reminders can illuminate the nature of feeling rules guiding particular social exchanges, and can take the form of a facial expression or tone of voice, signalling where we have 'underpaid' or 'overpaid' or 'not paid' in the currency of feeling, where for example we have been overbearing, remiss or negligent. Hochschild suggests we can identify rule reminders through a '...private mumbling to ourselves, the voice of a watchful chorus standing to the side of the main stage on which we act and feel' (Hochschild, 1983:57-58) and that 'We also receive rule reminders from others who ask us to account for what we feel'. Thus small hotel owners might receive such signals from guests, to suggest that they need to pay more, or less, attention to the guests' needs.

However, it is important to distinguish between feeling rules and social rules and consider how they interrelate. Here, Goffman (1967:49) explains that 'rules of conduct impinge on the individual in two general ways; directly, as obligations, establishing how he is morally constrained to conduct himself; indirectly, as expectations, establishing how others are morally bound to act in regard to him'. Relating this idea of social rules to emotion management, Goffman suggests that such interactions can involve self-control over emotions through, for example, 'character training' and 'socialization'. Hence arguably social and emotional expression, are to some extent entwined. However, Hochschild (1983: 217-218) expresses concern that Goffman appears to interpret the social actor as passive, arguing that this view limits links between social rules and private experience, showing '...disregard for the links between immediate social situations and macrostructure on the one hand and individual personality on the other' (Hochschild, 1979:556). Instead she contends that to really understand the conditions under which people behave as they do, it is necessary to go beyond the sociological thinking, for example, by drawing on psychoanalytic perspectives. Hence Hochschild's (1979: 557) concern with Goffman's work is that, although he employs the over-arching metaphor of drama to explain social interaction, she suggests his portrayals are limited by focusing on the 'outward' presentation of self without consideration of inward emotion management.

Yet she also points out that the examples Goffman uses do in fact reveal outward behavioural expression (such as sighing) and management of feeling (such as fear). Hence she contends that the illustrations he uses comprise both surface and deep acting, but that his focus is only on the former. She argues, '...if we are to accept the interactive account of emotion and to study the self as emotion manager, we can learn from Goffman about the link between social rule and feeling. But to elaborate this insight we might well selectively relax the theoretical strictures Goffman has stoically imposed against a focus on social structure and on personality' (Hochschild, 1979: 558). Hence Hochschild seems to suggest that emotion management can be better understood by drawing on both sociological and psychoanalytical traditions, echoing arguments I have made in Chapter 2.

Taking this further, Hochschild suggests that the idea of the 'self as emotion manager' borrows from Goffmanian and Freudian thinking, but 'squares completely with neither' (Hochschild, 1979:555). Hence whilst she recognises that Goffman draws attention to 'social patterns in emotive expression' she implies that his situated approach to examining the minutiae of social interaction does not take account of social structure and individual personality, arguing that Goffman's interpretation of social exchange tends toward outward display but that this 'obscures the importance of "deep acting" ' (Hochschild,

1979: 558). She further argues that Freud's contribution rests mostly on understanding how the 'full range of emotions and feelings' affect conscious expression of emotion (Hochschild, 1979: 559), suggesting that Freud emphasises what drives the unconscious rather than on the conscious itself. Hence she summarises that 'the emotion-management perspective fosters attention to how people try to feel, not, as for Goffman, how people try to appear to feel. It leads us to attend to how people consciously feel and not, as for Freud, how people feel unconsciously'. Hochschild's critique here is helpful in reinforcing both the value and limitations of interpersonal and intrapsychic perspectives of emotion, echoing my discussions in Chapter 2.

CONCEPT OF THE 'GIFT EXCHANGE'

Hochschild (1983:76) builds on the idea of currency of feeling by introducing the notion of 'paying respects with feeling: the gift exchange', which she suggests is a way of '...paying respects to a rule about respect paying'. Here she argues that 'In psychological "bowing", feeling rules provide a baseline for exchange' suggesting that 'There are two types of exchange – straight and improvisational. In straight exchange, we simply use rules to make an inward bow; we do not play with them. In improvisational exchange... we presuppose the rules and play with them, creating irony and humour. But in both types, it is within the context of feeling rules that we make our exchanges and settle our accounts' (Hochschild, 1983: 77). The potential for individuals to 'work within' prevailing feeling rules to 'improvise' in this way reflects the notion of the social actor who is able, to differing degrees, to be 'free' to negotiate emotional exchanges within a given social setting. Thus this notion of 'gift exchange' reinforces the idea of agential emotion management, as will be evident later in this chapter in my discussion of Bolton's work.

Hochschild (1983:83) explains that the significance of these ideas to emotion work is that '...display and emotion work are not matters of chance. They come into play, back and forth. They come to mean payment or nonpayment of latent dues. "Inappropriate emotion" may be construed as a nonpayment or mispayment of what is due, an indication that we are not seeing things in the right light'. The idea of 'currency exchange' can help people consider how they respond to feeling rules by interpreting their emotional exchange in terms of the 'currency of feeling', that is what they feel they owe or is owed to them. Hoteliers for example may demonstrate underpayment and overpayment of feeling by paying little attention to guests' needs, or at the other extreme by being overbearingly intrusive.

'PUBLIC' AND 'PRIVATE' EMOTION

Arguably in the private feeling domain, people are to some extent 'free' to choose how they engage in emotion work to deal with different social situations, within the social and feeling rules governing those situations. Hence whilst one might be expected to be sociable at a family gathering, arguably individuals can choose whether or not to do so. However, when emotion work is required as part of an organisation or business role, the picture is more complex. The relative 'freedom' of the individual as an 'emotion manager' will depend on the role that is expected and how he is allowed to perform it. A possible dilemma for owners of small hotels is that they may be drawn toward (private) emotion work associated with running a home, whilst being aware of what is required of them as hoteliers. Hence they may find themselves straddling the 'informal' with the 'professional'.

EMOTIONAL LABOUR

In recent decades, one form of emotion management that has emerged in organisational settings is where emotion work is considered to be appropriated by the employer, that is, the notion of 'emotional labour'. Hochschild first conceptualised this idea in her seminal work with airlines in the early 1980's, defining it as:

This labor requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others...This kind of labor calls for a coordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our individuality
(Hochschild, 1983: 7)

However, since then a number of writers (such as Harris, 2002; Morris and Feldman, 1996; Taylor, 1998; and Turnbull, 1999) have since argued that the scope of roles and occupations where emotional labour may be employed has widened considerably. Mann (1997:4) for example, suggests that emotional labour '...is not restricted to interactions at the customer-organization interface, but is becoming increasingly prevalent within all organizational communications'. Here, as a number of writers point out, the appropriation of private emotional systems may not be a matter of choice, but is a contractual requirement within many areas of contemporary employment (for example, Mann, 1997, Noon and Blyton, 2007). As to what constitutes emotional labour, Hochschild is clear that it '...occurs only in jobs that require personal contact with the public, the production of a state of mind in others, and (except in the true professions) the monitoring of emotional labour by supervisors' (Hochschild, 1983: 156). Noon and Blyton (2007: 184) observe that this emphasis is still relevant today with the expansion of service industries in recent decades, including for example the hospitality industry. Hochschild's view is that employers use emotional labour to appropriate private emotional systems 'for profit' (Hochschild 1979, 1983, emphasis added). The broader interpretation of emotional labour suggested by Mann is further reinforced by her comment that 'If the concept of emotional labour is used to imply that the emotions have an exchange value (i.e. the emotions displayed are used as a currency to obtain more money from customers, or to obtain the desired response) then it is difficult to imagine any role involving communication with people that does not put a value on emotional display' (Mann, 1997:10).

Several writers have contributed constructs of emotional labour. Morris and Feldman's (1996:992) model for example suggests a negative relationship between frequency of emotional display and attentiveness to required display rules. In a later contribution, Harris (2002) drew on a study of barristers to identify what he termed 'private' and 'public' emotional labour, where the former referred to 'back-stage' interactions (for example, with other barristers, clerks and solicitors) and the latter to 'front-stage' exchanges with clients, witnesses and judges. This distinction could be reflected in the back-of-house and front-of-house work in a hotel (Guerrier 1999). Also interesting in Harris' work was that he found that barristers considered suppression of emotion (rather than displaying genuine emotion) to be more professional than showing any 'real' feeling. Indeed, this was considered unprofessional. This concurred with his evidence that barristers mostly engaged in surface acting, with only limited deep acting in their public displays (Harris, 2002:570). Applying this to my study it was interesting to discover how hoteliers felt they 'ought' to behave toward guests, whether being 'friendly' was perceived as unprofessional or as an expectation of hospitableness (Telfer, 2000).

To show how the idea of emotional labour differs to 'private' emotion management, Hochschild (1983: 119) suggests that 'The whole system of emotional exchange in private

life has as its ostensible purpose the welfare and pleasure of the people involved. When this emotional system is thrust into a commercial setting, it is transmuted. A profit motive is slipped in under acts of emotion management, under the rules that govern them, under the gift exchange'. Here, she explains transmutation of an emotional system to mean the link between a private act (such as being pleasant to guests at a private party) and a public act (such as having to smile and be friendly to guests in a hotel), transmutation describing the relationship between the two. Hence she suggests that what is done in private is now often required in the corporate environment, for profit (Hochschild, 1983: 19).

Hochschild (1983: 18) argues that an implication of this difference in experience is that whilst the 'gift exchange' in private implies a degree of mutuality, transmuted private emotional exchange can involve unequal participation. So if in a private situation, someone shouts abuse at you, you can choose to shout back, calm him down or walk away, but transmutation of that feeling in the commercial sphere would mean that no matter how 'the other' behaves toward you, you have to display the behaviour expected of you as an emotion manager, eliciting whatever emotion is required from 'the other'. Hochschild argues that this inequality of transmuted emotional systems can bring with it costs to emotion managers engaged in emotional labour, where they are not allowed to act in a way that their inner feelings suggest to them they should act. Hence she argues that when the transmutation of emotion management from the private to the public domain is successful, it can be at a cost to the individual, if the person questions the authenticity of the feelings he is required to display, compared to what he really feels. She explains that this is because the work involved 'affects the degree to which we listen to feeling and sometimes our very capacity to feel' (Hochschild, 1983: 21).

Hochschild (1983:90) termed this potential mismatch between displayed emotion and inner feeling as emotive dissonance. She expressed concern about its possible negative impact on those experiencing it, that 'Maintaining a difference between feeling and feigning over the long run leads to strain' (Hochschild, 1983:90). Hochschild suggests that the cost of performance demands on individuals can be that they struggle with a conflict between emotions that are required and what is felt, or that the demands are so heavy that the effort needed for the expected emotional display proves elusive, so that workers 'risk losing the signal function of feeling' (Hochschild, 1983:21). The implication here is that 'feeling phoney' can result for those who question their performance of emotional labour and do not know what emotions they should portray, let alone what they should feel inside. The consequences of emotion management such as emotional labour will be explored later in the chapter.

'EMOTION MANAGEMENT'

Bolton (2005a: 60) acknowledges that Hochschild's work '...contributes a fundamental insight into the conflict of commercial and social feeling rules that explains much of the tension concerning the expression of emotion in the contemporary workplace'. However, she questions Hochschild's use of the term 'emotional labour' to describe a range of emotionalities which, she argues, can confuse a depiction of organisational life. In particular Bolton takes issue with Hochschild's emphasis on a 'public' and 'private' dichotomy of emotion management and her implied synonymy between 'public' and 'commercial' domains, asking if the organisational setting should necessarily mean 'public' emotion management. Bolton's concern is that over-emphasis on managing emotion can eschew situations when, for example emotion management is offered as a 'gift' within the commercial setting, for example to colleagues or clients. Bolton's take here resonates with my own reservations about the constraints of emotional labour whilst highlighting the

emotional complexities that are relevant to my study of the small hotel setting. However, as Bolton (2005a: 51) also notes, Hochschild herself questions what happens 'when deep gestures of exchange enter the market sector'.

In a similar vein, Bolton feels that Hochschild's interpretation of transmutation of feeling '...disqualifies the possibility that employees may exercise an "active and controlling" force in relationships, with both management and customers'. Hence, Bolton suggests that Hochschild '...mistakenly equates a physical labour process with an emotional labour process' (Bolton, 2005a: 61). In contrast Bolton suggests that interpreting 'emotion management' should accommodate greater potential for human agency. I too feel that this agential perspective makes more sense as to how emotion managers could, and possibly do, respond to varying emotional demands in organisational settings, and it aligns with my own questioning of the rationale behind, and effectiveness of, emotional labour.

Bolton's concern about the interpretation of private and public emotion is echoed by other writers, such as Martin, Knopoff and Beckman (2000), whose study of the Body Shop International highlights Putnam and Mumby's (1993) idea of 'bounded emotionality' which allows emotion to be expressed in a way that respects interpersonal relations. Martin *et al* contrast this with emotional labour, which they suggest does not allow such latitude. Fineman (2006:677) too suggests that Hochschild's view of emotional labour is 'insightful' but 'rather bleak', going on to argue that Bolton's (2000) proposal of three types of emotion management is more helpful; that of 'presentational (the following of general social rules), philanthropic (a spontaneous gift), and pecuniary (emotion management for specific commercial gain)' (original emphasis). I found I concurred with these ideas, as offering depictions of emotion management that I considered to be more appropriate to understanding my chosen research setting. I therefore explored Bolton's work in more depth.

Drawing on a study of emotion management in airline cabin crews, Bolton and Boyd (2003: 291) argue that emotional self-management cannot be categorised simply, but may be contingent on how the individual emotional labourer responds to different situational demands. Hence '...actors are able to draw on different sets of feeling rules according to context and their individual motivations'. Hence the image of emotional labour that Bolton and Boyd (2003: 303) portray is of '...blurring of boundaries and the blending of different roles'. Thus they contend that it is not always the organisation that controls the emotional agenda, but that organisational emotionality appears multi-dimensional as opposed to '...the one-dimensional view that the term "emotional labour" offers'. From this analysis they proposed a new conceptual framework offering '...a typology that distinguishes four distinct types of emotional self-management' where these are 'pecuniary' and 'presentational' (comparable to Hochschild's terms 'emotional labour' and 'emotion work' respectively), but also two further types, 'prescriptive' and 'philanthropic' that go beyond Hochschild's work. Bolton and Boyd argued that this new conceptual framework represented a marked development from Hochschild original work and as such I considered it would be helpful for interpreting how emotion management was manifested in the small hotels in my study, where emotion work may not be transmuted to emotional labour but might nonetheless vary from a wholly 'private' approach.

Bolton later explains 'prescriptive' emotion management as employee emotion management that 'may be closely prescribed but not necessarily for commercial gain' and 'philanthropic' as being where employees may 'not only follow organisational prescriptions but decide to give that "little extra" during a social exchange in the workplace' (Bolton, 2005a: 91-92). She argues that these options recognise what motivates the social actor, where, for example, the act may be sincere.

Bolton (2005a: 151-152) contends that 'presentational' and 'philanthropic' emotion management help to capture human agency in organisational relations. However, she also recognises that these categories cover a myriad of emotion management performances but argues that the labelling of these performances under easily recognisable categories highlights the intrusion of the "social side" of organisational emotionality into that directly policed by the organisation. This suggested to me a more realistic capture of the 'realities' of organisational life, which I felt was applicable to my study of complex small businesses.

Bolton's conceptualisation here emphasises a need to reassess an agential dimension to emotion management, where the emotion manager is afforded some flexibility and autonomy to act more 'naturally' within prevailing social and emotion rules of the organisation. However, importantly she further notes that, whether organisation managers facilitate this or not, employees themselves can find 'spaces' to relax the emotional strictures of emotional labour, which suggests an agential interpretation of emotion management. Bolton adds that in this regard employees do not merely 'perform' but can evaluate the demands placed upon themselves and balance these to produce 'polished performances' (Bolton, 2005a: 99). Consolidating her shift in emphasis here from Hochschild's 'managed heart', Bolton (2005a: 103) cites Goffman's depiction of the social actor, that,

The image that emerges of the individual is that of a juggler and synthesizer, an accommodator and appeaser, who fulfils one function while he is apparently engaged in another; he stands guard at the door of the tent but lets all his friends and relatives crawl in under the flap.

Thus Bolton brings into focus the role of the social actor as an 'active knowledgeable agent', managing emotion at work. She argues that this view of emotion managers as 'purposive' agents '...allows an understanding that, in negotiating between the feeling rules that are operative in different situations, actors are usually highly skilled from the point of view of the management of their emotions'. Hence '...the individual may select from sources of conflicting feeling rules and often creatively interpret and manipulate them' (Bolton, 2005a: 3). However, Bolton (2002:137) warns that this can result in a negative outcome. She exemplifies that a study of nurses responding to patients as 'customers' found that the nurses, as skilled social actors, 'learnt the new feeling rules and give polished performances' but that the performances were 'merely the representation of a "cynical face"; a "ritual game" which masks feelings of resentment and disillusionment (Goffman, 1959)'. She concluded from this study that 'measured "facework" (Goffman, 1967) guided by instrumentally motivated feeling rules, can never be a substitute for authentic caring behaviours'. I considered this balanced insight into the consequences of agential emotion management to be instructive for my own study, for example to interpret how hoteliers might respond to emotional demands placed upon them, such as dealing with 'customers' (that is guests) whom they find 'trying'.

I also felt these ideas captured how the complex motives of emotion managers can influence their emotional performances. One example Bolton highlights that could apply to small hotel owners is 'philanthropic' emotion management. Bolton exemplifies this through a qualitative study of gynaecology nurses in the UK. In contrast to Hochschild's notion of 'gift exchange', Bolton (2000: 582) found that nursing professionals did not carry an expectation of reciprocity. However, Bolton aligned with Hochschild (1983) in suggesting that emotional labourers in the caring services can retain some autonomy 'within the confines of professional norms and client expectations', as to how they execute 'the emotional part of their job'. Nonetheless, she contended that they can go beyond their

professional rules to offer patients something extra, as an emotion 'gift'. She suggested they thus 'not only work hard on their emotions in order to present the detached face of a professional carer, but also to offer authentic caring behaviour to patients in their care' (Bolton, 2000: 580). Hoteliers could mirror such behaviour, combining their professional image with spontaneous acts of kindness toward guests.

Also relevant to the work of hoteliers is Bolton's suggestion that 'everyday incivility is as ordered as everyday reciprocity and may even be a stable and accepted part of the moral order'. She graphically illustrates this with the case of Maisie, a patient who is demanding, and verbally abusive to everyone. I include this example in some detail as it illustrates the challenge of dirty work and possibly errant guest behaviour that hoteliers might also face. In Bolton's example, nurses 'adjusted' to Maisie's interactional style. For example on one occasion, a nurse responded to Maisie's stream of abuse by suggesting 'Maisie, we all know you're a bitch so why do you have to keep proving it. Just behave yourself for once', to which Maisie swiftly responded 'F*** you!' and so as the days wore on the nurses retorted with 'F*** you back, Maisie!' to laughter from both nurses and patient (Bolton, 2008: 22), Bolton concludes that such examples reveal the essence of humanity being shared in everyday social encounters, in contrast to the idea of the post-emotional society devoid of emotional spontaneity. She exemplifies this further with two quite different emotional acts: the patient who hugs a favourite nurse, and the nurse who expresses frustration about the 'dirty side' of the work; '...if I have to clean up any more "p***" and "s***" today, I'm going to shoot myself' (Bolton, 2008: 23). Bolton summarises, suggesting that we should '...recognize that emotions are social things and that humanity is expressed, shared, and supported in myriad ways as part of the "interaction order"' (Bolton, 2008:25). This sentiment aligns with an interpersonal interpretation of emotion, and the notion of emotion management involving emotion managers as active participants, capable of negotiating appropriate emotional expression within prevailing 'rules' thus 'reclaiming' some humanity within the social setting of organisations.

Bolton (2008) built on her conceptualisation of emotion management, to make the case for the role of agency to bring humanity to social interaction, to reinforce the notion of social connectedness in communities. She locates her arguments here in the context of ideas of a 'post-emotional' society where 'everyday interactions are routinized and predictable, especially between customer and service-provider' (Bolton, 2008:17). Drawing on Goffman's work of the minutiae of social interactions, she highlights Goffman's assertion that these interactions cannot be solely simulations since individuals define their identities in terms of how they manage emotion within different 'moral orders' (Bolton, 2008: 18). Hence in contrast to Hochschild's (1979) view of the limitations of Goffman's ideas, Bolton's argument is that whilst day-to-day interactions may be routinized, these are not done unconsciously, that social actors are aware of each other's behaviour and that these negotiations produce and reproduce a moral order. She contends that a strength of Goffman's analysis is that 'he recognizes that social actors are both heroes and villains – sometimes at the same time – as feeling rules are continually interpreted and adjusted according to the demands and power differentials involved in particular situations'. Bolton summarises that Goffman's emotion workers '...are image-makers rather than mere images and their emotions are agential experiences not cultural artifacts' (Bolton, 2008:19). This rather sympathetic view of Goffman's work in the light of the shifting emotionologies of contemporary society gives a more liberating depiction of the potential for more 'natural' emotion management in organisational settings.

EMOTIONAL DISPLAY

SURFACE ACTING, DEEP ACTING AND 'NO ACTING'

Hochschild (1983:36) suggests that managing feeling can take two forms, deep acting and surface acting. She argues that in deep acting, even though the individual may will himself to feel something through conscious mental work, the very effort required to do so does itself keep the feeling created from being 'part of me'. Thus the action itself challenges the individual's sense of his or her own identity. In contrast, she argues that surface acting is where the person's display of feeling is 'put on' and involves no attempt to be part of the individual, so the emotion manager can consciously 'detach' himself from the acts required of him, thus keeping felt emotion separate from what has to be displayed. This distinction is echoed by Fineman (2003:21) that in emotional labour 'Surface acting is simulating emotions not actually felt. Deep acting involves suppressing what you privately feel, to come in line with what the employer want you to feel'. However, for both forms of 'acting', the role of human agency is implied, as Hochschild explains:

Feelings do not erupt spontaneously or automatically in either deep acting or surface acting. In both cases, the actor has learned to intervene – either in creating the inner shape of a feeling or in shaping the outward appearance of one
(Hochschild, 1983: 36)

Hochschild suggests that in this learning process '...in either method, an actor may separate what it takes to act from the idea of a central self' but that '...whether the separation between "me" and my face or between "me" and my feeling counts as estrangements depends on something else – the outer context' (Hochschild, 1983: 36-37). Hochschild's point here reflects the work of Goffman (1959) and his contribution of exploring how people 'present' themselves in everyday life. His work drew on dramaturgical traditions to suggest that the roles people adopt are not only shaped by how the 'actor' views their performance (such as through deep and surface acting, in the case of emotion management), but by who is the audience and how they interact with the actor. So in a hotel for example, do hosts and guests engage in 'phoney' role-plays with one another, or do they 'allow' the interactions to be more 'natural'?

To Hochschild's (1983) options of surface acting and deep acting, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993: 94) add a third possibility, of 'no acting'. Noon and Blyton (2007) argue that Ashforth and Humphrey suggest that in situations where emotional display is completely aligned with an individual's inner feeling, the person has no need to act. Hence, they argue, in such cases, emotion displayed is in harmony with what the individual would have naturally displayed as part of their own identity. Mann (1999 in Lashley 2002:256) similarly proposed that felt emotion and emotional display could be aligned in 'emotional harmony' where 'the individual actually feels the emotion required of the display rules and social expectations'. However, the idea of 'no acting' is contestable in the sense that all external display may be considered 'acts' in dramaturgical terms.

Nonetheless later research by Diefendorff, Croyle and Gosserand (2005) supports the notion of three types of acting, surface, deep and expressing naturally felt emotions. However, as Noon and Blyton also acknowledge, even people who do identify with their jobs can have 'off days' and bad moods, and at such times they too will need to manage their emotions to hide what they really feel. Thus whilst it may be possible that some people who engage in emotion management find they have no need to 'act', it is unlikely that this can be sustained all the time. So they too are likely to have to expend 'emotional' effort at least some of the time, to achieve the performance that is expected of them.

CLIENT /CUSTOMER INFLUENCES

Another study I found informative for my research was Lively's (2002:208) investigation of how client contact influenced the use emotional labour by paralegals. This was valuable in identifying 'client' factors that could influence the response of emotion managers. The study found that the client's own emotional state and their lack of legal knowledge could affect paralegals' responses, with the latter creating extra work for them. He suggested the findings implied that the paralegals had to 'truncate their own emotional responses to the clients' emotional crises' to control the encounter. Whilst this refers to emotional labour, I found this study illuminating since parallel situations might arise for hoteliers where for example, a hotelier wants to have time to himself at the end of a long day but instead has to deal with a guest who returns upset at having been robbed. The hotelier may feel obliged to conceal his own weariness to offer comfort and support.

DISPLAY RULES

Reference to 'display rules' to frame emotional display, appears ambiguous in the literature, with the terms sometimes used synonymously with 'feeling rules' and 'emotion rules'. Hochschild for example, makes no distinction between display rules and feeling rules, describing them thus, in reference to deep and surface acting,

...rules (display rules or feeling rules), once agreed upon, establish the work of a gesture and are thus used in social exchange as a medium of exchange
(Hochschild, 1979: 568)

However, Rafaeli and Sutton (1989:8) distinguish display rules as being '...behavioural expectations about which emotions ought to be expressed and which ought to be hidden'. Diefendorff and Gosserand (in Diefendorff, Richard and Croyle, 2006:274) support this, that '...display rules are intended to constrain employee emotional expressions to be a certain way so as to facilitate the attainments of desire performance objectives'. Fineman further clarifies that 'Emotion conventions, often referred to as "emotion rules", signal the appropriate emotional display for the situation, event or happening. They help sustain relationship and organizational order' (Fineman, 2003: 17-18). Hence the picture emerges of display rules as integral to socially acceptable behaviour, but which in an organisational setting may be 'controlled' to fashion what individual emotion managers can (emotionally) reveal. Smollan (2006) captures this succinctly. Concurring with Fineman (2003), he suggests that expectations of emotional display involve revealing 'appropriate' emotions whilst suppressing those deemed 'inappropriate'.

PERFORMING

Most studies depicting experiences of emotion management relate to emotional labour. Nonetheless, I considered these could illuminate my own study through the insights provided into how this particular form of emotion management was experienced. Constanti and Gibbs' (2004) study of higher education teachers is instructive here, that the work needed to provide an authentic performance involves considerable effort to manage and suppress emotion, to display emotions that the employer feels appropriate for authentic service delivery. Ashforth and Tomiuk (2000) also provide insights into 'authentic' performance in their study of front-line service agents which suggested that identifying with their role led agents to feel that good acting supported, not challenged, their authenticity.

'Performing' emotional labour has also been investigated in the hospitality industry. Seymour (2000:168) for example compared how emotional labour was used in a traditional restaurant that emphasised personal service, with its role in a fast food outlet. She found that, whilst both kinds of work demanded considerable emotional labour, there were distinct differences between the two. For example, whilst fast food workers generally worked within a standardised script, traditional restaurant workers did not require this. The use of the script for the former was however by no means always a 'constraining experience', some perceiving it as an asset to detach themselves from the work, and others as a way of giving them the skills to feel confident with customers. The personalised service provided by traditional restaurant workers was described thus,

Staff were expected to change the "face" they adopted in order to fulfil individual customer's expectations...the task of impression management is a fundamental aspect of the job and this management of emotions and the depersonalisation of workers' feelings is much more of an issue for staff than it is in fast food work. They were required to deliver more "deep acting"; their conversations with customers had to appear genuine and authentic.

This description suggests that the emotion work needed here was considerable, with a good deal of 'the self' required for each interaction, in the absence of a script. What seemed imperative was that employees' acts seemed authentic, that even if they were acting, they must not *appear* to be doing so (emphasis added). Similar performances may be expected of small hotel owners where guests want to be treated individually, this being one reason why they opt for these hotels, to avoid being treated as 'a number' in the larger hotel setting. What was also interesting in this study was that the traditional restaurant staff made use of the 'backstage' to let off steam (Goffman, 1959 in Seymour, 2000: 176). This way of coping with the demands of emotional labour may also be reflected in a small hotel, where 'back-of-house areas can provide refuge from over-demanding guests, even if only temporarily. However, another interesting finding from Seymour's study was that the wearing of a uniform, for both restaurant environments, appeared to signal that '...service providers saw themselves as playing the character of servants and said that once in uniform they felt powerless and servile. Both groups felt that their uniforms signified to customers someone to whom they could be rude and abusive'. Arguably this may contrast with perceptions of small hotel owners who consider that wearing 'smart dress' signals their professionalism.

In another study by Seymour and Sandiford (2005:561) that investigated how emotion rules were learnt by service workers in large and small units in a chain of public houses, it was found that managers expected employees '...to be skilled emotion managers, flexible enough to move between different service contexts, delivering different emotional performances on demand'. This resonates with another study I found relevant, that of holiday reps who were managed through limited direct control and supervision, allowing them to 'self-regulate' their service delivery (Guerrier and Adib, 2003).

Finally, I drew on the work of Goffman (1959, 1961, 1971) who is recognised as significantly informing ideas of 'performance' in emotional labour (for example, Fineman, 1993; Hochschild, 1979, 1983). Goffman (1959:26) adopted a symbolic interactionist perspective and dramaturgical approach to analyse face-to-face encounters, situations and moments, in everyday life, including a study of hotels in the Shetland Isles. Thus he focused on each situation itself as analytic unit, and within that, the role of participants as social actors, and the rules and mini acts that influenced their interaction. Goffman was interested in the impression that individual actors gave off and the meaning they conveyed to one another in a specific social context. Hence as Hochschild (1983: 215) observes,

Goffman (1967) revealed how social actors interact within social conventions, assessing how they ought to behave and how some try to avoid conforming to expectations and 'pay' for deviations from social norms. What I found interesting in my study was to consider Goffman's analysis of social interaction alongside an understanding of emotion management.

'COPING' WITH EMOTION MANAGEMENT

As with the previous section, I found it useful to explore coping strategies used by emotional labourers, to help me understand the use of a wider range of emotion management roles in my study. Returning to Hochschild (1983:187), she suggests three responses that workers can adopt to cope with the demands of emotional labour; identifying wholeheartedly with the job (risking burnout), distinguishing oneself from the job (hence being less likely to experience burnout, but possibly blaming oneself for being insincere), and distinguishing from the job and not blaming oneself, seeing the job as requiring an act (but possibly resulting in estrangement from acting altogether and cynicism). Hochschild argued that in all cases, '...the problem of adjusting self to role is aggravated by the worker's lack of control over the conditions of work' (Hochschild, 1983: 188-189). This may for example contrast with the experience of small hotel owners whose relative autonomy may mean that they can shape their 'performances' toward guests.

Noon and Blyton (2007:202) similarly argue that people who have to engage in emotional labour over long periods employ strategies to cope with the general pressure of that work, and the difficult situations they face, such as unpleasant customers. They cite going 'off-stage' as one obvious ploy, to take oneself away from the performance 'stage' to 'let off steam'. Another strategy is engaging in covert activity such as avoiding the customer, separating difficult groups using the "break-up-the-party" technique, or making things uncomfortable for the customer, such as the Disneyland 'seat-belt-squeeze' (Noon and Blyton, 2007: 201 citing Van Maanen and Kunda). Noon and Blyton also report techniques used by call centre staff, such as maintaining a 'cold' distance whilst not being impolite. Another approach is to maintain the emotional performance but do so in an automated way. They point out that it is more difficult to maintain a 'sincere' performance when one is inwardly 'escaping' the role in this way.

'Distancing' of a different form was revealed in another study that I considered relevant to my work. Allan and Smith (2005:20-24) investigated how modern matrons cope with the emotional demands placed upon them. They found that matrons managed emotions to deal with situations they faced, by managing the emotional load of their staff through 'distancing' themselves from the work involved and its associated emotions. One nurse saw herself as an 'emotional sponge', soaking up the emotions of the situations with which she was dealing, but from which she was distanced, to avoid being 'sucked in'. Here Allan and Smith compared matrons' regulation of their own and others' emotions with James' (1993) analysis of the emotional management of cancer care. These findings are also not dissimilar to Brotheridge and Lee's (2008:111) finding that for managers, 'Besides dealing with their own emotions, managers also have to deal with the emotions and emotional behavior of others' and 'thus become emotional managers', pointing out that additionally, they have to act as role models for their staff in terms of how emotions should be handled' (citing Pescosolido, 2002). However Allan and Smith's findings contrast with Bolton's (2002:135) study of how nurses coped with patients taking on the role of 'customers', where some 'gained pleasure from knowing they had subtly shown their disregard for the patient who acts as a "customer"' whilst others '...quite simply refuse to perform the "smiley face" routine'. The different emotion management responses

revealed in these studies could help me make sense of how hoteliers manage their own and guests' emotions.

Additionally, other studies in the hospitality industry provided further insights into managing emotion that could relate more directly to my study. For example, Constanti and Gibbs' (2005:103) found that holiday reps needed to conceal or manage their feelings to provide 'successful service delivery', with the demands of both customers and management possibly giving rise to exploitation. A high level of emotional labour was necessary here, to provide the service required and to expend the effort needed to cope with hiding their real feelings. One respondent's experience could be mirrored in similar situations in a small hotel.

On one occasion, during a boat trip, a young male guest had a little too much to drink. One of the reps would have preferred to "throttle" him but instead politely told him, for his own sake, to stop diving overboard.

Yet another commented on having to hide 'personal issues', that 'You can't allow guests to witness your troubles and cares' and yet there seemed to be an expectation of being genuine or authentic, that 'People expect you to be natural...nowadays (people) don't expect you to be nice all the time'. These experiences too could be reflected in the life of the small hotel, where guests may expect the owner to be polite all the time, no matter what personal or business disasters may have befallen him. Hence guests are unlikely to be concerned if the boiler has broken down, expecting to have a hot shower whenever they want it. However, what may be different in the small setting is how hotel owners respond to guest expectations and demands, possibly being able to exercise autonomy in deciding whether or not to engage in emotional labour to provide 'successful service delivery'.

Another study I considered useful for my own research was Ashforth Kulik and Tomiuk's (2008) investigation into how service agents in a variety of occupations in the US coped with front-stage and back-stage roles. In particular they examined how workers 'manage the interface between their role as frontline exemplars of the organization and themselves as individuals'. Their findings suggested the use of 'transition rituals, boundary markers, and psychological preparation' (for example, wearing uniform) to adopt, and exit from, their roles 'with surprisingly little effort'. The authors also found that participants often found it difficult 'to maintain their objectivity and to minimize interrole blurring' and that they were 'very aware of being "on stage"' and hence use the backstage 'as a respite from stress' and 'to resolve coworker conflicts'. The study also showed that workers 'protect against threat to their sense of self by rationalizing away the threat and partitioning their roles or partitioning themselves from the service role or clients' (Ashforth *et al*, 2008:5). These findings clearly reveal the struggle these workers experienced in managing their expected 'performance' with their sense of 'who they are'.

Ashforth *et al* concluded that transition between roles appeared easy but that workers were aware of the 'stage' on which they must perform, and clearly need the facility of the backstage to 'manage' that performance. They also found that the roles of performer and audience could become blurred, for example in friendships, but that workers could also employ defence mechanisms to protect the integrity of the self and resist intrusion. Hence, the image emerged of workers being acutely aware of their role as 'performer' and the potential for role ambiguity with the 'audience'. However, through the use of 'emotionalized zones' they managed to negotiate these demands on their identity. These findings could be helpful in explaining how hotel owners cope with similar role transitions, for example between back-of-house and front-of-house work.

CONSEQUENCES OF EMOTION MANAGEMENT

Positive outcomes of emotion management are noted by a number of writers, such as Wharton (1993:205), who revealed that the '...effects of emotional labour are conditioned by workers' level of job autonomy and job involvement, and their self-monitoring abilities'. She also found a positive association between emotional labour and job satisfaction. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993 in Morris and Feldman, 1996:1001) too argued that benefits of emotional labour include that it '...may make interactions more predictable and help workers to avoid embarrassing interpersonal problems. This understanding, in turn, should help reduce stress and increase satisfaction', and that emotional labour '...may help employees to psychologically distance themselves from unpleasant situations'. I was interested in discovering if such outcomes were evident in my study, for example for hoteliers who were new to the industry and needed to learn the role required of them.

However, these views contrast with Hochschild's (1983: 37) suggestions that emotional labour has predominantly negative effects on an individual's sense of self. She suggests that the emotional labourer may ask: Is this really me? Who is the real me? In short, Hochschild alludes to emotional labour having the effect of separating 'the me from my face' or 'the me from my feeling', and that this estrangement of the 'acting' self from the 'real' self can threaten a person's identity. Turnbull's (1999: 135) study of middle managers reflects these concerns where some managers said that they were often asked to be '...someone they are not'. Mann (1997:5) goes further, suggesting a certain inevitability that '...workers in these prescribed roles will not genuinely feel the emotion that they are expected to display all the time' and 'To some degree or other, conflict will exist between what the individual really feels and the emotions they are expected to display'. Mann (1999) later reports three ways in which felt emotion may align with displayed emotion; emotional dissonance (where displayed emotions are not felt), emotional harmony (where felt and displayed emotion align) and emotional deviance (where felt emotions are displayed but are not the emotions that were expected to be displayed). This last option implies the emotion manager exercising some control over the social exchange.

Again I may discover similar consequences for hoteliers if they have to adopt an 'acting' role but with which they are not entirely comfortable. Also relevant to hoteliers' ability to cope with managing emotion in the host-guest relationship is the long hours that hotel work entails. This is powerfully reflected in Hochschild's account of a 'smile fighter' who reclaimed some control over the work expected of her.

A young businessman said to a flight attendant, "Why aren't you smiling?" She put her tray back on the food cart, looked him in the eye, and said, "I'll tell you what. You smile first, then I'll smile". The businessman smiled at her. "Good", she replied. "Now freeze, and hold that for fifteen hours". Then she walked away.
(Hochschild, 1983: 127)

However, studies that present a more 'mixed' picture of the effects of emotion management might also reflect hoteliers' experiences in my study, where they may sometimes feel a need to 'act' but at other times can behave 'naturally'. Bolton and Boyd (2003:289) for example posed the question 'Trolley dolly or skilled emotion manager?' in a study of cabin crews in UK airlines in 1998. In contrast to 'emotionally crippled actors' that they suggest Hochschild implies, they found emotional labourers capable of employing a range of skills to suit different organisational demands. In another study of the airline industry, Williams found that for flight attendants in Australia coping with company demands and passenger abuse emotional labour was both '...enjoyable and satisfying'

and ‘...stressful and costly to themselves.’ As Williams (2003:544) commented, this reflects ‘...an on-going dynamic between the enjoyable and satisfying features of service work and some of its unsavoury and unsafe aspects’. This study in particular could reflect how hoteliers ensure guests ‘have a good time’ whilst dealing with those who become abusive.

The dilemma of coping with such consequences is captured by Mann (2004:206). She highlights the pressure on service providers to engage in emotion management, arguing that workers involved in ‘people-work’ are expected to engage in a great deal of emotion management to convey the appropriate emotions (which they may not genuinely feel) to their clients or customers whilst perhaps suppressing inappropriate ones. She argues that if this emotion management is unsuccessful, the consequences in some industries can be that a customer may be lost if they choose to take their business to a competitor (Mann, 2004: 205). Additionally, she argues that in the ‘caring’ business such as counselling and guidance professions, failure to display appropriate emotion (such as sympathy) or leakage of an inappropriate one (such as boredom) can have much more serious implications for the well-being of the client and their continued relationship with the professional (Mann, 2004: 206). Mann’s insights here could arguably apply to hoteliers. Being involved in ‘people work’, they not only have to engage in emotion management but also have to manage a professional relationship with their guests.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The main points I identify in this chapter as being particularly pertinent to my study are:

- Emotion work lies at the heart of social relations such as the host-guest relationship, and is shaped by culturally defined feeling rules that signal appropriate felt and displayed emotion in such relations. Rule reminders serve to regulate adherence to prevailing feeling rules.
- Social rules and feeling rules entwine, and as such, social relations can be usefully interpreted from both sociological and psychological perspectives, mirroring the interpersonal and intrapsychic nature of emotion.
- ‘Emotion management’ may be manifested in organizations in a variety of forms, from for example the notion of the ‘gift exchange’ to the idea of emotional labour. Within these two extremes is the potential for adoption of a range of emotion manager roles, as conceptualised by Bolton; pecuniary, presentational, prescriptive and philanthropic.
- An emotion manager who can draw on such a range of roles may be depicted as flexible and agential compared to the controlled and restricted remit of the emotional labourer.
- This broader interpretation of emotion management and emotion manager roles ‘allows’ organisations to capture opportunities for human connectedness and spontaneity, which I interpret as permitting more ‘natural’ interactional behaviour.

- The emotional performance of emotion managers can take the form of surface acting, deep acting, or 'no' acting/ 'natural' interaction, where the emotion work required for each will be shaped by the individual characteristics of the emotion manager, such as the extent to which he or she identifies with the role that is required.
- The way emotion managers 'cope' with emotional demands placed upon them will also be shaped by their identification with the role, together with the behaviour of the customer. In this regard the use of emotionalized zones to 'manage' felt and displayed emotion, particularly where these diverge, can be important, for example the front-of-house and back-of-house areas of a small hotel.
- Similarly, the consequences of emotion management will depend on the particular individual, with some benefiting from a 'structured' approach (not unlike emotional labour) with yet others finding some 'dissonance' between the 'real' self and the 'acting' self.

Chapter 4

THE HOST-GUEST RELATIONSHIP

DEFINING THE 'HOST-GUEST RELATIONSHIP'

Lashley, Lynch and Morrison (2007:176) use the term 'host-guest transaction' to mean,

A social construct recognised to be at the root of any civilised society, while the mode of operation may vary over time and social and cultural context, in essence it is concerned with the extent to which a host takes responsibility for the care and management of a guest and a guest accepts or rejects the authority of the host. The interactional nature of the transaction is multi-faceted: social, cultural, psychological, economic etc. and captures the idea of a 'crossing over' between host and guest

They emphasise the centrality of the host-guest transaction to the concept of hospitality and observe its negotiated and transformative nature, with Lashley (2000:15) reinforcing the importance of the host-guest relationship. He argues that 'to be effective, hospitality requires the guest to feel that the host is being hospitable through feelings of generosity, a desire to please, and a genuine regard for the guest as an individual'. Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007:33) additionally allude to the fragility of the relationship, that,

Hospitality is a negotiated act between host and guest, and can be described as transgressive in nature in that it infringes thresholds of physical, psychological and symbolic character

These perspectives led me to question whether the notion of 'transaction' conflicts with the negotiated and transformative nature of the relationship. Here, Tucker's study (2003a) of small rural hospitality providers in New Zealand is useful, revealing strong evidence of the transformative nature of the relationship, with guests noticeably more relaxed and even 'friends' by the end of their stay. To facilitate this transformative 'feel' to the prevailing social order, hosts shared jokes at the start of the stay to ease socialisation of the guest, and related anecdotes of previous guests' errant behaviour to signal the social norms that were expected. What emerged from this study was that hosts and guests seemed to adhere to social obligations in the relationship that had been mutually established, although hosts did exert some control and from which guests rarely deviated. However, Tucker (2003a: 87) alludes to the tension that can arise with the inevitable monetary transaction involved, that this can dilute the notion of the experience as one of 'social exchange'. However she also contends that,

By handing over the payment upon their departure...guests are able to regain the freedom and independence they desire, and this may also help regarding future meetings if and when tourists make return visits. The payment marks something of a cleaning of the slate, so that "commercial hospitality" may take place again between the two parties in the future

She thus concludes that hosts 'should recognise that commercial and social exchange can co-exist'. However, drawing on another study in rural Turkey, Tucker (2003b) also recognises that guests can question offers of hospitality when the issue of payment is unclear. This could arise in my study when for example, hoteliers do not charge for 'extras', which might leave some guests feeling uncomfortable. Thus the host-guest relationship emerges as one that is dynamic and possibly ambiguous in nature.

Its intrinsic fragility is reflected in Selwyn's view (2000: 26-27) that hospitality is a '...symbolic interaction and the making of friends out of strangers', but where '...the role and recognition of the ambiguity and latent danger ever present in hospitality reinforce the realms of disorder attendant in the concept of hospitality as an ordered event'. Sheringham and Daruwalla suggest that the ambiguity and tension implied in host-guest relationships mirrors the Janus two-faced nature of hospitality and hostility, where transgression can result in a shift from one to the other, reflecting the potential for disorder to which Selwyn (2000) alludes. Thus Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007:34) conclude that hospitality is '...a negotiated interaction between host and guest and is ...not an act of unconditional giving'. Guerrier and Adib (2000:266) echo this interpretation, suggesting that hospitality service involves '...a series of complex negotiations between guests and service providers about what is and what is not acceptable behaviour', and exemplify the fragility of the relationship by suggesting that 'when the expectations are in line with each other, the interaction is a satisfying experience for both, but the service provider is extremely vulnerable if guests choose to step over the boundaries'.

Throughout my study, I have interpreted the 'host' in the host-guest relationship to be the person who commonly engages with the guest. For small hotels this has generally been the owner or owners, whilst in large hotels it can also include staff.

INTERPRETING 'HOSPITALITY' AND THE HOST-GUEST RELATIONSHIP

Since 'hospitality' is central to the host-guest relationship, it is important to consider various facets of this concept in terms of how that relationship is interpreted. Here, it is useful to begin with Brotherton (2000:139) who quotes Murray (1990:17) as arguing that

...although its form differs greatly between cultures, hospitality can be defined as a relationship of two social roles – host and guest. Further, it is a relationship that is both voluntary and non-commercial

Brotherton (2000: 135) further observes that hospitality

involves not only the demonstration of appropriate, hospitable, behaviour, but the reciprocation of that behaviour, such that hospitality comprises a two-way exchange process

Bearing these in mind, I will now consider various traditions that underpin the idea of hospitality, which need to be appreciated to understand how it may be variously interpreted by host and guest.

HOSPITALITY 'TRADITIONS'

Values/Culture

Tracing the origins of hospitality, Selwyn (2000:19) provides an anthropological perspective to explain the 'purpose and social function' of hospitality. Here, he emphasises the relational nature of hospitality advanced by others (such as Tucker and Lynch, 2004), arguing that it involves either establishing or promoting a relationship through the exchange of goods and services. Hence, he suggests hospitality to be 'transformative', for example, converting 'strangers into familiars, enemies into friends'. Complementary to this approach is O'Gorman's (2007:27) review of hospitality through Biblical, Greek and Roman times. In this respect, the influence of 'religious practices and

beliefs...social status...and the fear of strangers' continue to shape hospitality provision in contemporary society.

Further, O'Gorman identifies five dimensions of hospitality emerging from the literature that may be relevant to my study; honourable tradition, fundamental to human existence, stratified, diversified and, central to human endeavour. The idea of 'honourable tradition' for example concerns 'protection of others in order to be protected from others' (O'Gorman, 2007:28) which could apply to private domain hospitality that characterises small hotel provision. Similarly, the notion of stratification may be evidenced in social and commercial hospitality in small hotels where hospitality may be provided to codify relationships with guests, for example to establish or reinforce status differentials to distinguish the 'upmarket' from the 'popular' provider. Further, the 'diverse' nature of hospitality is reflected in the plethora of establishments that exist throughout the small hotel sector, ranging for example from 'homely' bed and breakfast providers to 'urban chic' boutique hotels.

Selwyn (2000: 27) provides another perspective here. He cites Heal (1990) in capturing the essence of the traditional values embedded in hospitality, as constituting '...honour and status, the quasi-sacred character of both guest and host, and the embeddedness of this relation in the nature of things'. Selwyn (2000: 28) illustrates this with the example of guests who are invited to the festivities of another culture or religion, explaining that what matters is not the difference in culture of religion, but that the invited guest accepts the 'moral authority' of the host, and hence abides by the social 'rules' of the occasion. However, he contrasts this tradition of honour and moral obligation with contemporary commercial hospitality. Referring again to Heal's interpretation of hospitality, he comments 'It is thus...to be found in a realm which is quite distinct from that other sphere in which social relations are reduced to the level of the market place'. Hence whilst it can be argued that the history and traditions of hospitality are in evidence today, their very nature can be considered at odds with commercial provision. The potential for inter-cultural misunderstandings is thus possible where private and commercial hospitality overlap, as in a small hotel.

Sources of Tension

Selwyn (2000:26) goes on to refer to the potential for tension within the host-guest relationship, suggesting that this can result in hospitality provision taking the form of alternative 'couplings', such as 'hospitality' and 'moral obligations'. He suggests that in seeking to satisfy moral obligations there is a potential for 'transgression and excess, which go beyond the call of duty' for the host. Arguably where the boundaries of private and commercial hospitality overlap as in a small hotel, achieving a 'balance' between such couplings could present a significant challenge to hosts and guests, as each vies for spatial and emotional control. Balancing the relationship might be further complicated by possible blurring between interpretations of hospitality, for example as 'mutual exchange' where the paying guest becomes a 'friend', and 'transaction', where the interaction constitutes a wholly business arrangement. Satisfying moral obligations can thus present challenges to small hotel owners.

Selwyn (2000: 26) observes a further challenge that could apply to the small hotel, that hospitality can be closely associated with its 'twin sister', hostility. He argues that this is unsurprising, where the former is a means of 'asserting a relationship with another' and the latter 'choosing simply to ignore the other's existence'. The inherent tension in this 'coupling' is reflected in O'Gorman's review of the history of hospitality, in which he summarises the strands of hospitality traditions that can influence contemporary practice.

In the following extract, O’Gorman (2007:18) reaches to the heart of hospitality as a reciprocal activity where host and guest share mutual obligations to one another, but highlights the inherent tension in that relationship, that the guest to whom hospitality is offered is also a stranger,

Traditionally, the guest was the person with whom one had mutual obligations of hospitality; they were also the stranger, and a stranger could well be hostile. Strangers were feared because their intentions are often unknown...The law or custom pertaining to the Ancient Greeks of offering protection and hospitality to strangers is “*philoxenos*”, literally “love of strangers”; the antithesis of which is still in common English usage today; “*xenophobia*”. Hospitality then, “represents a kind of guarantee of reciprocity – one protects the stranger in order to be protected from him” (Muhlmann, 1932: 463)

The dilemma depicted here persists in contemporary hospitality, the way a hospitality provider perceives ‘the stranger’ can significantly shape the nature and boundaries of the ensuing host-guest relationship. For example, the owner of a small hotel may claim he has no vacancies when confronted by a shabbily dressed young person standing on the threshold with a couple of carrier bags, inferring that the stranger may be homeless and/or a drug user. Such judgements are routinely made to establish, or forestall, a host-guest relationship, with the potential ‘risk’ posed by the guest constituting an instinctive concern for the provider.

However, the ‘dangers’ inherent in the hospitality/hostility dichotomy do not lie solely with the host’s fear of the guest; the guest too may assess to what extent he can trust the host to offer what is expected. As O’Gorman (2007:22) warns, hospitality needs to be carefully balanced by both host and guest, the host being neither excessively hospitable nor hostile, and the guest observing the boundaries of the hospitality being provided. Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007:39) give an additional perspective, that the host-guest relationship involves a ‘journey of negotiations’, involving welcoming the guest, providing hospitality, and securing the guest’s departure. They argue that this process requires negotiation of social and emotional boundaries between host and guest to ensure continuation of the established social order. Thus they contend that ‘the act of hospitality relies on a transformative process concerned with converting stranger to guest, but that it must stop short of complete and permanent integration into the host’s “household”’. Their warning here could be relevant to the small hotel owner who ‘befriends’ the guest.

Such potential tensions in host-guest dynamics are reflected in Tucker and Lynch’s (2004: 15) study of home-stay accommodation, which could align with my study of small hotels. They observed that since guests were in the hosts’ space, as well as abiding by the general social rules that ensured the interaction would run smoothly, guests were also expected to respect and submit to their hosts’ way of ‘doing things’. They also pointed out that by letting “strangers” stay in their home, bed and breakfast hosts are taking a variety of risks and must therefore take certain measures to ensure the guests will understand and play by the rules.

Hospitality and Symbolism within Social Structures

Selwyn (2000:25-27) observes that acts of hospitality have, through the ages, been used to develop, express and reinforce social systems, thus taking on a symbolic role. He illustrates this with Cornelius Walford’s description of the extravagance of Norman and Saxon banquets, where ‘The rich man sat at the top, and the poor man at the bottom; rank asserted itself by remaining above the salt-cellar and allowing poverty to eat and drink

below it.' Explaining the significance of such traditions to contemporary society he adds, '...the expression "below the salt" has not entirely dropped out of the barbed lexicon of those in contemporary bourgeois society wishing to undermine person's social standing'.

Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007:41) also point to the symbolic use of food in hospitality provision, explaining that it is not the food *per se* that is symbolic, but the 'sharing' of it. Such symbolism, used to cement and nurture the host-guest relationship and to signal the perceived 'value' placed on that relationship, resonates with the role of hospitality as a means of cultural expression (Selwyn, 2000). An example I may encounter in my study is where hosts and guests from different cultures may hold differing views toward the sharing of food, which could lead to misunderstandings and tension in their relationship.

Hosts' Perceptions of 'Home'

Tensions between the transactional and exchange dimensions of hospitality may be expected to be particularly acute where hosts provide hospitality in their own home. The concept of the 'commercial home' will be detailed later, in the Methodology Chapter 5, but it is pertinent to note here that, as Lynch (2005 b) notes in his portrayal of this concept, commercial home owners can have a strong emotional attachment to their home. However, the significance of the home in hospitality provision has been evident long before the emergence of this relatively new concept, being traced back to traditional writings. O'Gorman (2007:22) for example notes the central role of *oikos* (home, household) in hospitality provision, as depicted in the writings of Homer.

Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007:42) also draw attention to how the physical setting for hospitality can influence the relationship between host and guest, arguing that 'The concept of place is important within the abstraction of hospitality helping to build further the notion of inclusion and exclusion. The host must be clearly linked with a sense of place that they define as their own and have control over. Here the place must assert a sense of the host's identity and their 'sense of self'. They argue that the host should have authority to invite the guest, to allow transgression of the boundaries (of the 'place') so that the stranger can be welcomed. They suggest that here the host recognises 'the boundary of self and other' and the symbolic importance of allowing entry to the 'place' of hospitality. However, another interpretation is that '...by definition a stranger to this place and thus excluded ' so '...the sense of place aids in the defining of who is included, at home, familiar, and who stands outside recognised as the stranger, the other'. To reconcile these perspectives of 'place', they argue that it is the role of the host '...to invite the other to temporally break the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion and that the host must, in the negotiated case of conditional hospitality, decide that they can afford to entertain the guest and their needs and that the anticipated return will override the interruption to freedom (and order) caused by hosting the guest'.

However, they add that the notion of place '...is subject to the rules of intimacy and distance being used symbolically to express levels of inclusion and exclusion' so that 'place becomes a mean to map the negotiated level of hospitality between the host and guest' (Sheringham and Daruwalla, 2007:42-43). The implications here are that the physical setting of hospitality provision, such as one's home, constitutes the 'stage' for negotiating the social relationship that is played out between host and guest. Hence issues such as inclusivity and intimacy can be negotiated areas in this context. It is also important to note that the symbolism of this negotiated space is both real and perceptual. As Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007: 43) observe, when a guest accepts hospitality the ensuing agreement ' impacts the host's sense of place'. Negotiation of the physical space

between host and guest as detailed here could be pertinent to my study of small hotels where the owner commonly lives on the premises.

HOSPITALITY AS 'EXCHANGE'

Brotherton's (1999:168) definition of hospitality as 'A contemporaneous human exchange, which is voluntarily entered into, and designed to enhance the mutual well-being of the parties concerned through the provision of accommodation, and/or food and/or drink' reaffirms the notion of 'mutuality' implied in earlier discussions of hospitality traditions. As O'Gorman (2007: 22) points out, the reciprocal nature of the host-guest relationship can be traced to the writings of Socrates. However, strains on this 'mutual' exchange are revealed in a later definition of hospitality given by Morrison and O'Gorman (2006:3 in Lashley *et al* (2007:2), that hospitality '...represents a host's cordial reception, welcome and entertainment of guests or strangers of diverse social backgrounds and cultures charitably, socially or commercially with kind and generous liberality, into one's space to dine and/or lodge temporarily. Dependent on circumstance and context the degree to which the hospitality offering is conditional or unconditional may vary'. Implicit in this definition is an expectation that the host will be 'hospitable' toward the guest, a sentiment echoed by Derrida (2000:25) who observes,

...absolute hospitality requires that I open up my home and that I given not only to the foreigner...but to the absolute, unknown, anonymous other, and that I give place to them, that I let them come, that I let them arrive, and take place in the place I offer them, without asking of them either reciprocity

However, Morrison and O'Gorman's (2006:3) definition also implies that the exchange may not be entirely reciprocal, that conditions may apply 'dependent on circumstance and context'. Their interpretation thus emphasises the fragility of the concept as one of 'exchange' that tensions and transgressions may emanate from either party. As Derrida (2000: 27) further questions 'Does hospitality consist in interrogating the new arrival? Does it begin with the question addressed to the newcomer...what is your name?' These insights into hospitality as 'exchange' draw attention to the notion of 'hospitableness' and its role within the host-guest relationship. A particular challenge this presents is to what extent hospitableness can be realised in the commercial context. However, on this point, as Brotherton (1999) notes, Burgess (1982) attempts to widen the notion of hospitality 'exchange' to include private and commercial situations, an idea developed by Reuland *et al* (1985) who suggest hospitality to be an 'exchange transaction' (comprising products, employee behaviour and the physical environment). However, this interpretation seems somewhat contradictory, embracing notions of both transaction and exchange within one process.

Nonetheless, a clearer depiction of the 'spirit' of hospitality as human exchange is captured in a later contribution by Telfer (1996: 83) who suggests that 'Hospitableness...is clearly something to do with hospitality'. Her assertion is that hospitableness is characterised by the host having an 'appropriate' motive toward the guest. This view thus broadens the concept of hospitality to include not just provision of a hospitality 'product', but the reasons underpinning that provision. In other words, Telfer alludes to the nature of the relationship between host and guest. She emphasises the role of hospitableness further, citing an eighteenth century gourmet and food writer, Brillat-Savarin (1970:14) who argues 'To entertain a guest is to make yourself responsible for his happiness so long as he is beneath your roof'. Telfer observes that if this is taken to be the host's task it goes beyond the definition of hospitality as providing food, drink and accommodation. However, she explains that hospitableness is not just about being 'a

good host', since although a good host can be skilled in being attentive, he or she may have an inappropriate motive toward the guest, such as trying to win favour from, profit from, or seduce the guest. In contrast she explains 'appropriate motives' as being consistent with the spirit of hospitality, that is, aligned with the traditions of having a desire to please and be benevolent and friendly toward others. However, Telfer warns that private hospitality does not necessarily equate to 'being hospitable', since a 'private' host may not act 'hospitably' if his or her motives are driven by self-interest, such as the lonely person who simply wants people to keep him company. Hence whilst the influence of private hospitality in small hotels might imply a tendency toward hospitable behaviour, this will not be the case where the owner harbours ulterior motives.

Brotherton (1999: 167) develops this theme, suggesting that some writers (such as Burgess, 1982 and Hepple *et al*, 1990) confuse hospitableness with hospitality, for example in suggesting that a characteristic of the latter is to make the guest 'feel at home'. Brotherton eloquently exemplifies situations when the guest might wish to experience anything *but* feel 'at home', the exact opposite in fact! For example, taking a break in a hotel may be motivated precisely by doing something different from 'being at home', rather than replicating the home experience. Equally, as Brotherton (1999: 168) observes, 'Hospitable behaviour may be displayed in many different circumstances, for many different reasons, none of which have anything to do with providing hospitality'. He goes on to argue that what distinguishes hospitableness from hospitality is the 'product' basis of the latter, together with its 'process' and 'motive' elements. Essentially, he contends that it is the 'holy trinity' of accommodation, food and drink that separates hospitality from other 'mutually beneficial exchange situations'.

Turning to commercial hospitality, Telfer recognises that the profit motive could imply that commercial hospitality is incompatible with the notion of hospitableness, noting that the commercial 'host' does not choose his guests, and hence may not feel disposed to be hospitable towards them. Hence Telfer (2000: 40) argues '...the idea of commercial hospitality seems like a contradiction in terms'. Supporting this, she cites Heal (1990:1) who argues that 'The American usage "hospitality industry" suggests an immediate paradox between generosity and the exploitation of the marketplace'. However, Telfer (2000: 42) challenges the idea that the commercial host cannot be hospitable on the grounds of always having an ulterior motive as being too simplistic. She notes for example that people may want to work in the commercial hospitality industry 'for motives resembling those of the hospitable private host: they enjoy making people happy by entertaining them' (Telfer, 2000: 45). She further contends that,

If a commercial host looks after his guests well out of a genuine concern for their happiness and charges them reasonably, rather than extortionately, for what he does, his activities can be called hospitable

The dilemmas of hospitableness discussed here could challenge the small hotel owner working within private and commercial hospitality domains and influenced by mixed motives. For example, unlike Telfer's depiction of commercial hosts, a small hotel owner may indeed 'choose' his or her guests precisely in order to be hospitable to those selected as 'suitable'.

HOSPITALITY AS 'TRANSACTION'

To consider hospitality as a 'transaction' it is useful to develop the theme of whether commercial hospitality can be 'genuinely' hospitable. Here, Lashley *et al* (2005, in Lashley, Lynch and Morrison, 2007: 8) assert that hospitality experiences can be

described as genuine in both commercial and domestic settings. Also interestingly, they found that some commercial hospitality providers seek to emulate the 'homely' and 'genuinely friendly' experiences of the private domain, for example through 'domestic' language such as 'home cooking'. Lashley *et al* (2007:9) also note that '...emotional requirements to feel safe and secure, welcome and genuinely valued dominate the assessment of authenticity in both settings'. This suggests that both private and commercial guests seem to expect traditional aspects of hospitality, as identified by O'Gorman (2007). So for example, guests may expect 'honourable tradition' (for example, feeling protected). However, a wish to be 'welcomed' also implies a desire for hospitableness, as explored by Telfer (2000). Hence these findings seem to support Lashley *et al*'s (2007:9) argument that commercial providers could benefit from better understanding hospitality '...to focus on building long-term customer relationships'. This view also concurs with Telfer's suggestion that hospitableness and commercial hospitality are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

However, Ritzer (2007:129) highlights the intrinsic tension between the idea of hospitableness (and its association with hospitality as 'exchange') and the transactional connotations of commercial hospitality. He argues that 'Acts of hospitableness involve being hospitable for genuine motives' so that '...where there are more ulterior motives...behaviour is not genuinely hospitable'. He suggests this implies that '...commercial hospitality is inhospitable because hospitable behaviour is being provided for ulterior motives to gain commercial advantage'. To support this view he cites Warde and Martens' study of dining out (2001) which concluded that '...diners tended to regard private hospitality as authentic and commercial hospitality experiences as simulated' (in Ritzer, 2007:128).

Ritzer (2007:130) also draws on his own work to conclude that, although the commercial hospitality industry is 'not inevitably inhospitable', he suggests there are trends that it is moving that way, an example being the self-service element of fast-food restaurants with their 'barren' (inhospitable) interiors. Ritzer explores the notion of inhospitable hospitality further, around a number of themes, drawn from his own research. For example he questions whether 'efficiency' measures are '...antithetical to what we conventionally mean by hospitality' (Ritzer, 2007:131). Similarly, he observes that 'The down side of predictability is that customers are frequently not able to get the individual service they desire', suggesting guests are 'processed' as numbers rather than as people. This sentiment may be reflected in how guests in large corporate hotels may perceive their experience, compared to the informality of a small hotel. Ritzer further contends that calculability in the commercial sector runs '...counter to the basic premise of hospitality, which gives less emphasis to issues like speed of service or the amount that customers get' (Ritzer, 2007:132).

Ritzer argues that his fourth theme of control, limits '...the flexibility required to meet unusual guest requests, to resolve customer complaints or to maintain high-quality and responsive service' (Ritzer, 2007:133). This would seem to run counter to the idea of 'doing everything one can do, to satisfy the guest's needs'. Ritzer concludes by outlining a fundamental challenge to commercial hospitality provision, that '...whether or not it is realistic or even possible, hospitality tends to carry with it a sense of authenticity (that) in a truly hospitable relationship, the consumer is offered an authentic experience by people who behave in a genuinely authentic manner' (Ritzer, 2007:134). However, he argues that commercial hospitality provision is limited in terms of authenticity, that customers can be faced with '...the false friendliness of staff members who follow scripts designed to make them seem ...as if they are "really" friendly'. He adds that customers are unlikely to be impressed by such 'acts', that whilst the notion of authenticity may be hard to define,

'...we can pretty much agree when we are witnessing something that is so routine and mechanical that it offends us with its inauthenticity' (Ritzer, 2007:134). Ritzer's observations here are pertinent to interpreting how small hotel owners offer hospitality in a way that satisfies their commercial and relational motives.

Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007: 34) also refer to the transactional emphasis of commercial hospitality, highlighting the tension between hospitality as a mutually agreed exchange and a commercial transaction, and the muted impact this has on both guest and provider to satisfy one another.

The overarching importance of the commerce and profiting from commercial hospitality is a notion that characterises the service encounter and leads to the aura of unauthenticity that increasingly pervades the transaction. This is operationalised in the wariness of the guest towards the charming 'up sell' intended to gain a larger profit and the wariness of the provider about unreasonable requests and expectations of guests

Sheringham and Daruwalla also draw attention to how the anthropological traditions of hospitality can clash with commercial expediency. They cite Selwyn (2000: 35) who observes 'the uneasiness that prevails between commercial hospitality and the anthropological views of hospitality and its practice', in terms of interdependence between host and guest. Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007: 36-37) explain that, for example, hospitality can turn to hostility, resulting in either party being the victor. For instance, the host might be seen as 'victor' if he evicts a badly behaved guest, but the guest may appear to have the upper hand if the host concedes that the service has been inferior and reduces the bill. Sheringham and Daruwalla suggest that recognising the anthropological influence on providing hospitality means that 'The boundaries are important both to define and to transgress, and to develop bonds created by acts of hospitality'. This implies a need to define who is 'known' and who is 'the other' which poses a particular challenge for small hotel owners in judging who is a 'suitable' guest. Here Sheringham and Daruwalla add that hospitality '...helps a culture find a physical means to express the way in which it thinks about the other and its self' (Sheringham and Daruwalla, 2007: 37).

The arguments here re-emphasise the delicate balance that exists between the 'coupling' of hospitality and hostility, and how this can impact on hospitality provision, commercial or otherwise. However, for commercial hospitality, the 'other' is inevitably a 'stranger', thus heightening the potential for tension in the host-guest relationship. The expectations of 'hospitality' become further complicated by the curious mix of the tradition of 'welcoming strangers' with the 'transactional element' of monetary exchange. The latter can arguably absolve both host and guest from any obligations of reciprocity. Thus the notion of hospitality as 'transaction' continues to be inherently problematic and open to interpretation by both parties. Elements of these illustrations are likely to be evident in my own study, since whatever the hotelier's motives, the host-guest relationship inevitably involves a transactional dimension.

CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF 'HOSPITALITY' AND THE HOST-GUEST RELATIONSHIP

As far back as 1983, Cassee and Reuland (1983:xiv) noted how the concept of hospitality was changing, arguing that

No longer should hospitality just be seen as providing food and shelter to satisfy basic needs...Hospitality is a harmonious mixture of tangible and intangible

components...food, beverages, beds, ambiance and environment, and behaviour of staff

THREE DOMAINS MODEL

This complex view of hospitality has been taken up Lashley (2000:5) who developed a theoretical framework that conceptualises hospitality in a way that permits analysis of hospitality activities within and across three independent but overlapping domains; 'social', 'private', and 'commercial'. Lashley defines these thus,

The "social domain" of hospitality considers the social settings in which hospitality and acts of hospitableness take place together with the impacts of social forces on the production and consumption of food/drink/and accommodation. The "private domain" considers the range of issues associated with both the provision of the 'trinity' in the home as well as considering the impact of host and guest relationships. The "commercial domain" concerns the provision of hospitality as an economic activity and includes both private and public sector activities

These separate domains and their interrelationship apply to small hotels where commercial hospitality is provided within a private setting and articulated through social exchange between host and guest.

The Social Domain

Lashley (2000:5) suggests that the social domain of hospitality involves considering hospitality and hospitableness 'from historical, cultural or anthropological perspectives'. Thus, the role of hospitality is examined in terms of how it reflects and defines value-systems, and establishes and reinforces social order. This includes how relationships between social groups are established through hospitality provision and how status differentials and cultural identity are expressed. A host may for example articulate social status and reinforce social differentials through the nature of their accommodation and the type of food provided. Similarly, guests may identify with social groups and status symbols through their choice of hospitality provider, a cheap bed and breakfast or a four star hotel, for example.

When the expectations of host and guest align, the interaction can be a satisfying experience for both parties. However, the service provider is extremely vulnerable if guests choose to step over the boundaries (Guerrier and Adib, 2000). As Brotherton and Wood observe, '...themes of order and conformity in the hospitality exchange' are 'characterized by discussion of the role(s) of rules, customs, manners, rituals, and habits in regulating hospitality exchanges'. They add that the orderliness that ensues '...tends to reflect the establishment and maintenance of social relations as a central aspect of the hospitality exchange, whether this is reciprocal or not' (Brotherton and Wood, 2000:139). An aspect of the social domain that could be particularly important for small hotels is the tradition of societies extending hospitality to strangers, not only to meet a need but as a duty to protect (Beardsworth and Keil, 1997 in Lashley 2000). The role of food is another important characteristic of this domain to symbolise 'a bond of trust and closeness between host and guest' (Lashley, 2000:7). Lashley further argues that food and drink can be used to cement, reinforce and express cultural identity. This reinforces the anthropological influences on hospitality as explored by Selwyn (2000) and could be exemplified by the type of fare provided by a small hotel, such as home cooking or regional specialities. However, as discussed earlier, this could also be challenged by the influence of different cultures on how the role of food is interpreted.

The Private Domain

Lashley *et al* (2007:8) suggest the private domain of hospitality offers interesting insights into the hospitality concept, such as the notion of 'special meal occasions' and the use of domestic hospitality language in commercial settings, such as 'they made me feel at home'. However, Lashley (2000:10) acknowledges that the 'private domain' has been largely downplayed in hospitality literature but nonetheless argues that commercial enterprises could learn from understanding 'the nurturing and altruistic motives of those who cook, serve beverages, make beds, and create a safe environment' for the private domain, since (these) 'shape to some extent expectations of the non-domestic provision of hospitality activities'. Here, it can be argued that an understanding of 'housework' (comprising ironing, cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, washing-up and shopping) is instructive, together with housewives' views of these roles and their feelings about the work entailed and the conditions under which they have to do it (Oakley, 1974).

Also pertinent to the private domain is Darke and Gurney's (2000: 80) analysis of what motivates a private host. This can vary from wanting guests to be 'an admiring audience to an accomplished home-making performance', to a desire to 'preclude any outsiders visiting because they create extra work and destroy a hard-won sense of the home as haven'. The host may also perceive that guests 'potentially threaten to expose the host's incompetence at presenting home and self'. Here, Darke and Gurney (2000:83) refer to hosts being engaged in a skilled and socially constructed 'performance', but suggest that this is 'fragile and precarious necessitating careful and continual impression management' where this management needs to take place within the rules, resources, expectations and obligations for both host and guest. This interpretation of the host as 'performer' aligns with the dramaturgical nature of emotional display in the context of emotion management. It also reflects the Goffmanian approach to interpreting social interactions, which exemplifies how the private and social domains can overlap.

Private and social domains can also be seen to interconnect in terms of the use of public and private space. As Lashley (2000) argues, the way in which space is used can reveal how different social groups value 'privateness.' There is also overlap in the way a private host may receive guests into the home, as an opportunity for 'social display' for example, or to develop social relationships and meet social and status needs. Similarly, private guests may evaluate 'the social connectedness of individual and families' (Lashley, 2000:10). However this area of overlap can also be a source of tension, where 'differing expectations to the rules and taboos result in behaviour that causes offence to the other party' (Lashley, 2000:11). Here, Tucker and Lynch's (2004) idea of host-guest matching through psychographics (lifestyle dimensions) can help hosts of small hospitality establishments to target an appropriate guest market.

An important characteristic of private domain hospitality is hospitableness, as 'a genuine desire to please guests and make them happy' (Lashley 2000:11). As discussed earlier, this implies that the host has 'an appropriate motive' (Telfer, 1996: 86), rather than 'trying to win favour from, seduce or profit from the guest'. In the context of hospitableness, provision of food, drink and accommodation take on a symbolic role of creating relationships and sharing hospitality (Lashley, 2000:11), which reflect the interpretation of hospitality as an experience of mutual exchange. However, the private domain also overlaps with the commercial sphere, for example regarding the increasing trend for guests to expect private facilities within a commercial setting. The contemporary hotel guest may expect ensuite facilities, a TV and possibly wi fi connection, to replicate their own personal domestic space in the commercial domain of hospitality provision.

The Commercial Domain

In terms of the 'commercial domain' of hospitality, Lashley (2000:12) notes a distinction between this and the social domain, in terms of how the concept of hospitality is marginalized from the core values in Western industrial societies. Lashley argues that 'the commercial and market driven relationship which allows the customer a freedom of action that individuals would not dream of demanding in a domestic setting is one of the benefits claimed for the "hospitality industry"'. However, Lashley also acknowledges that the lack of hospitableness and reciprocity in the host-guest relationship within commercial hospitality, together with the anonymity of large hotels, is part of their attraction.

Interestingly, although there is an expectation of a high level of interactive skills in commercial hospitality provision, the industry is often associated with low skilled, low status work (Guerrier, 1999). Further, the work is considered largely gendered (Guerrier and Adib, 2000: 258), which resonates with housewives' perceptions of housework as inferior and demeaning (Oakley, 1974). In particular, the work can be contrasted with other service work, as being distinctive in that it deals with guests' intimate bodily functions' (Guerrier and Adib, 2000: 261), which some may perceive as 'dirty work'. However, as Lashley observes, paradoxically, working in the hospitality industry can be perceived as glamorous, for example, working in a luxury hotel where one might 'rub shoulders' with celebrities. Here, commercial hospitality overlaps with social perspectives, where employees see the work as a route to expressing and realising social aspirations (Lashley, 2000).

In Lashley's (2000:13-14) conceptualisation of the commercial domain, both host and guest expect little in the way of the reciprocity and mutual obligations that characterise hospitality in the domestic context. He argues,

For the host, motives of being hospitable are mostly ulterior, the desire to supply just that of hospitality that will ensure guest satisfaction, limit complaint and hopefully generate a return visit whilst turning a profit. For the guest, there is little sense of mutual obligation of the domestic context. The guest rarely has a sense that roles will be reversed and that the guest will become host on another occasion. The exchange of money absolves the guest of mutual obligation, and loyalty

The guest here may constitute a valued customer rather than the recipient of 'genuine' hospitality associated with the private domain. This depiction also concurs with the interpretation of hospitality as a transaction, and the limitations that this has for host and guest satisfaction. Lashley sums up this distinction, and the centrality of the profit motive to the commercial domain, by suggesting the existence of 'an immediate paradox between generosity and the market place' (Lashley, 2000:13). Hemmington (2007:750) takes up this theme, reaffirming the host-guest relationship as a key dimension of 'hospitality as a commercial experience', noting that

... it is the host-guest relationship that is the key distinguishing characteristic of hospitality (citing Lashley and Morrison, 2000:15)... The notion of hosts and guests is fundamentally different to that of managers and customers and is much more socially and culturally defined

Hemmington also echoes earlier calls for a refocus on the host-guest relationship within the commercial setting, and for further consideration of how hospitality is provided, by arguably learning from the experience within other hospitality domains.

INTEGRATED PERSPECTIVES

This discussion of Lashley's model has considered social, private and commercial domains of hospitality separately, but with an eye to their linkages. It is pertinent to develop this discussion by noting the influence of characteristics that are common to all three domains, and by suggesting how inter-domain understanding can be enhanced. Taking common characteristics first, one of these is that, as Telfer (1996) notes, the motives underlying provision of any form of hospitality can differentiate hospitality situations. This implies that a host's motives can influence the degree to which hospitableness is integral to hospitality provision, which in turn can shape the transactional or exchange focus of the host-guest relationship. In my study this can be reflected in how a mix of business and lifestyle motives translate into commercial and/or private hospitality.

A second common characteristic is that, as Guerrier (1999:43) argues, boundaries influencing the appropriation of space apply universally to hospitality providers, and this has consequences for host-guest behaviour. She exemplifies, '...all hospitality operations have a front-of-house area where hosts are on their best behaviour for the benefit of the guest and a private back-of-house area where the "household" can behave in their natural ways'. This issue can be significant for small hotel owners in how they manage that space, bearing in mind the 'informal' atmosphere of the small hotel environment, and that front-of-house and back-of-house roles need to take into account host personality and experience. The third characteristic is that changing customer tastes and expectations result in the need for providers to continually seek ways to enhance their competitive edge through their products and services (Guerrier, 1999). For small hotel owners this may mean trying to emulate the facilities and luxury provided by large enterprises but on a smaller scale, for example in the 'boutique' model, or may mean maintaining the 'small is beautiful' feel of the small operator to reaffirm the 'homeliness' and informality that may well attract clients to such establishments.

In terms of cross-domain integration, Lashley (2000) draws attention to how commercial hospitality can learn from an understanding of the private domain. Here he observes a tension within the industry in its desire to emulate the personalised service of the private sphere, with a view to fostering customer loyalty to generate repeat business, in order to, as Lashley and Morrison (2003) argue, build 'commercial friends'. In this respect, Lashley (2000:14) suggests that the industry could benefit from understanding hospitality in the private domain, arguing that 'The key here is to making the giving seem like acts of genuine generosity rather than the formulaic "give-aways" typical of many branded hospitality businesses'. Guerrier (1999) supports this view, suggesting that 'natural' hospitality can be relevant to commercial activity in three ways; provision to 'strangers', provision of hospitality to enhance standing in the community (for example seeking to gain a good reputation), and rules and responsibilities to ensure a mutually beneficial exchange, such as adherence to a dress code. Hence here, the manner of 'informal' host-guest interactions in a small hotel could inform commercial provision. Telfer (2000) also draws a parallel between the commercial and private type of guest. So for example, a blurring of transactional and exchange perspectives of hospitality and hence commercial and private domains, may be evident in some small hotels where guests become 'regulars' and are afforded the status of 'friends'.

Hemmington (2007:747) also raises concerns as to how commercial hospitality can be understood, advocating that it should be redefined as 'behaviour and experience'. As such he suggests emphasising the following dimensions: 'the host-guest relationship, generosity, theatre and performance, "lots of little surprises", and the security of strangers

– a focus that provides guests with experiences that are personal, memorable and add value to their lives’ (Hemmington, 2007:747). Here Hemmington acknowledges Lashley’s (2000) contribution regarding the three domains approach, but suggests that it fails to explore ‘...the implications of hospitality in the social and private domain for the practice of hospitality in the commercial domain’. He contends ‘Put simply, the question might be asked, how might commercial hospitality be made more hospitable? (Hemmington, 2007:748). Hence Hemmington calls for greater cross-domain integration here.

However, he echoes Lashley (2000) and Telfer (2000) in acknowledging that conceptualising hospitality through hospitableness raises the question of how generosity and the ‘economics of business’ can be reconciled, in other words if and how commercial hospitality can be hospitable. However, his response is that by focusing on hospitality as experience puts generosity ‘centre stage’, that ‘hospitality businesses must focus on the guest experience and stage memorable experiences that stimulate all five senses’ (Hemmington, 2007:754). These ideas align with Bolton’s (2005 a) philanthropic notion of emotion management and also highlight a need to refocus on the role of dramaturgy in social interactions between host and guest (after Goffman, 1959).

RECENT THINKING

A re-emphasis on human agency to which Hemmington alludes is echoed by Lashley *et al* (2007:173) who conclude that a range of perspectives (such as social science and critical theory) can facilitate analysis of the central characteristic of hospitality as a human phenomenon, which they argue is ‘the nexus of the host/guest transaction in different social, cultural and physical contexts’. Relating this to the host-guest relationship, they contend that this broader approach to understanding hospitality reinforces ‘...the plurality, multi-dimensional and overlapping nature of the host-guest transaction and the interplay between the different levels as a socially constructed process’ (Lashley *et al* 2007:173), thus reinforcing the value of the three-domain approach. However, they develop this further to derive a later conceptual model – a hospitality conceptual lens - which has at its core the host-guest transaction (Lashley *et al*, 2007:175). I found these ideas helpful in reminding me, as the researcher, of the centrality of the host-guest interaction to the ‘hospitality product’ (for example, Brotherton, 2000). Additionally, this later model provides a framework for further interrogation of the central notion of the host-guest relationship, but from a wider range of perspectives that reflect the complexity and dynamism of the hospitality concept.

Lashley *et al* (2007: 4) suggest an application of their model is that it affords a better understanding of hospitality. Focusing on the use of critical theory they argue that by applying a critical approach, hospitality can be explored and understood through a multidisciplinary framework, drawing on different perspectives of social science. They imply that such an approach can elicit a better understanding of social action in hospitality transactions, beyond the commercial domain. Lynch (2005 b) adds that this could illuminate how participants in the process (of hospitality) perceive their experiences. Lashley *et al* (2007:5) further argue that a broader understanding of hospitality that takes account of its cultural, historical and domestic perspectives can be achieved by adopting a more interpretive approach to its study, particularly by drawing on its social and cultural dimensions.

HOST PERSPECTIVES OF THE HOST-GUEST RELATIONSHIP

HOST MOTIVATIONS

Dewhurst and Horobin (1998) suggest that evidence in the sector indicates that ‘...a significant percentage of entrepreneurs are driven as much by social as by economic motives’. More recent research has built on this, by exploring the role of life-style and family-related goals as motivations for running small hospitality businesses (for example, Getz and Carlsen, 2000). One particular motivation that has attracted interest in recent years is that of lifestyle choice. Here, hosts report that they perceive the benefits of this approach to include ‘...the opportunity to meet people from a wide range of backgrounds and nationalities and to exchange knowledge and develop long-lasting relationships’ and offering the ‘personal touch’ (Tucker and Lynch, 2004:14). However, this is but one example; Tucker identified five personality types that hosts may present which can have implications for the host-guest relationship. These are; ‘people people’, ‘relaxed’, ‘perfect host’, ‘house proud’ and ‘business woman’. These diverse personality types can be evidenced in the plethora of small hotel owners I encountered in my study. An example might be the ‘relaxed’ hotelier who plays by few rules and responds flexibly to guests’ expectations and behaviours, even to the point of offering a ‘guest kitchen’ for eating take-aways and the like. Another might be the ‘house proud’ hotelier who guards the high standard in which the hotel (and home) is presented with an eagle eye and with the potential for considerable ire against anyone who violates this (Darke and Gurney, 2000; Oakley, 1974).

However, the ‘lifestyle’ motive is emphasised even further in a more recent study. Lashley and Rowson (2007:122) investigated Blackpool hotel owners to explore why they embarked on hotel ownership, and to discover their experiences of it. They found that,

The research...suggests that people who buy hotels in Blackpool are doing so for a cluster of lifestyle reasons. Few have classic entrepreneurial ambitions to make a lot of money and own a chain of hotels. Many have a lifelong ambition to own a hotel, or some business that gives them greater control of their lives, or because they think they will enjoy the life of hotel ownership...few had any work experience of hotel work, or even the hospitality sector. This lack of experience or operational requirements of the business was further compounded by a lack of management skills, or small business experience.

NATURE OF HOSPITALITY WORK

To consider how hosts might experience ‘hospitality work’ in the context of the host-guest relationship, it is first necessary to examine what this work entails. Wood (1997: 8) traces the idea of hospitality work to Whyte (1948), who argued that hotel and catering work ‘...was firmly rooted in the human relations tradition’. Expanding on the implications this has for employment in the industry Wood (1997:15) adds ‘ The wider social emphasis on service work as servitude, as inferior to manufacturing work, does little for the morale of the industry’s employees and, indeed, permits employers to maintain terms and conditions of employment that in many respects are still medieval in character’. Guerrier and Adib (2000: 262) similarly refer to new management approaches that emphasise ‘doing whatever it takes to satisfy the customer’, that have made hospitality employees increasingly vulnerable to abuse from customers.’ Citing research by Giuffre and Williams (1994), Guerrier and Adib (2000: 257) add that ‘At the least, they have to cope with the psychological pressures of smiling and keeping their tempers in response to verbal provocation. At most, they may be routinely subject to more serious abuse’. Whilst such

depictions of the commercial industry may not directly apply to small hotel owners, guest expectations and behaviours are nonetheless likely to affect the independent operator.

Wood (1997:156) also draws attention to the gendered nature of the work, that 'Much of the work associated with the hotel and catering industry is commonly defined as "women's work", and seen as an extension of women's domestic tasks and responsibilities'. The association of hospitality work with 'women's work' brings into sharper focus the day-to-day 'housework' that hospitality work entails. It is instructive therefore, to briefly examine what is meant by 'housework' as an intrinsic element of hospitality work. As Novarra (1980 in Guerrier and Adib, 2000) argues, working in this industry can at first sight seem to be 'women's work', domestic activities such as cooking and cleaning, that have traditionally fallen to women within the domestic environment. However, what is interesting is that although as Oakley (1974) reports, housework is generally seen as inferior to other occupations, the work itself can be regarded as anything from degrading and unpleasant to creative and a source of pride. This is reflected in how housewives themselves perceive what may be ubiquitously seen as low level work (Guerrier and Adib, 2000). Hence, what is also interesting is how hospitality workers may experience the work. On the one hand it may be considered an autonomous activity, but at the same time one that imposes its own intrinsic constraints on the worker, not least its boring, repetitive, unconstructive and never-ending nature, demanding that it is frequently repeated. Commenting on how housewives experience this, Oakley (1974: 44) observes that 'the housewife is "free from" but not "free to."'

Applying Oakley's research of housewives to the hospitality worker, undertaking much the same sort of work, the implications are that the worker may be free from direct supervision but not wholly free to choose his or her own activities. In other words, the work has to be done when it has to be done, be it cleaning, cooking or laundering. A further constraint that emanates from the work itself is that it has to be performed to a standard that satisfies not only the worker but also his 'audience' (Oakley, 1974). As Oakley reports, for the housewife these standards are subjective measures, but measures that can be objectified as self-imposed performance evaluations. This can bring with it feelings of guilt, worry, misery, anxiety and depression associated with notion of being 'house-proud' (Oakley, 1974: 106). The owner of a small hotel could have similar experiences where he perceives the standard of presentation of the hotel (and home) as reflecting his personal standards. These implications of hospitality work reflect Lashley's (2000) argument that one role of hospitality is to convey and reinforce social standards.

Developing this insight into the nature of hospitality work, the 'dirty' side of the work cannot be ignored. The reality of hospitality work means essentially 'cleaning up after other people'. Not surprisingly, this is also reflected in how hospitality workers themselves may be perceived. As Guerrier and Adib (2000: 257) argue '...there is an image of hospitality workers as the dregs of society: doing dirty, tedious and hard jobs for little pay because they have no alternative'. However, the work may not only be perceived as 'dirty' but encroaching on aspects of life that might otherwise be kept private or even perceived as taboo. Hence the hospitality worker can find himself directly confronting the intimacies and personal habits of the guest. Guerrier and Adib (2000: 261) consider this a dilemma of hospitality provision; it involves not only providing what people want but also 'policing their behaviour', where guests may engage in activities they would not necessarily do at home. Examples here include consumption of alcohol and drugs and engaging in sexual behaviour. The dilemma facing the provider is whether to ignore, disallow or facilitate such behaviour. The implications of this 'murkier' side of hospitality work arguably go beyond the immediate dilemmas routinely faced by hospitality workers. For example, Guerrier and Adib ('2000:266) report the case of a hotel employee who was

propositioned by a guest to provide a sexual service, implying an assumption that the employee could be asked to do this. Arguably, dealing with these examples of the 'less respectable' side of hospitality work can contribute to its perceived low status.

Guerrier and Adib's (2003) study of holiday reps also provided insights into the impact of having to do 'dirty work'. Reflecting Williams' (2003) findings of flight attendants experiencing both enjoyment and stress in performing emotional labour, Guerrier and Adib (2003: 1399) explored '...the paradoxes of delivering emotional labour in a job where the boundaries between work and leisure are blurred, and which is both explicitly about delivering fun and also about the "dirty work" of managing holidaymakers' complaints and excesses'. They commented 'The work tasks of the tour rep may be varied, but the rep will have failed if he or she does not seem to be having fun and helping the holidaymaker have fun'. Guerrier and Adib (2003: 1413) found that, as with Constanti and Gibbs's findings (2005), tour reps needed to draw on a wide range of emotions to perform the job; being lively at parties, being sympathetic to problems, managing their anger when confronted with abusive guests, and managing their disgust at dealing with the 'dirty work'. Similar demands could be placed upon small hotel owners who want to ensure the guest 'has a good time', but which may necessarily entail some 'dirty work' to facilitate that experience, for example cleaning up after guests' over-indulgence in food and drink.

An understanding of 'dirty work occupations' further illuminates this aspect of hospitality work. Kreiner, Ashforth and Sluss (2006) extend earlier work by Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) to broaden interpretations of what is meant by 'dirty work'. Citing Hughes' (1951) reference to dirty work as 'occupations and tasks within them that are widely perceived as degrading, disgusting, or demeaning to the individuals and groups performing them', Kreiner *et al* (2006:621) suggest that people in such occupations respond to external threats such as stigmatisation, by internalising and repositioning how they see their work relative to others in society. This might involve identifying more closely with the occupation or dissociating themselves from it, or struggling to reconcile these two perspectives (Kreiner *et al* 2006: 623).

Reflecting society's perception of 'dirty work', Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark and Fugate (2007:150) add that workers in dirty occupations face the dilemma of the 'taint of dirty work', and that this can impact on one's sense of self. They go on that the worker needs to be able to 'negotiate taint' to cope with this work, re-interpreting the work to emphasise its positive attributes, such as autonomy, and by social weighting, that is comparing the work with others. An example of this, though unrelated to hospitality, is Bolton's (2005 b) study of how gynaecological nurses 'reframed' their work by declaring it as 'special', requiring distinctive knowledge and skills, even though the "tainted" nature of gynaecology nursing gives it the social distinction of "dirty work". Bolton explains that the nurses 'celebrate their status as women carrying out "dirty work" through using "ceremonial work" that continually re-affirms their "womanly" qualities' (Bolton, 2005b: 169).

It will be interesting in my own study to discover how hotel owners cope with the challenges that the inevitability of 'dirty' work' will present. I will find the previous discussion helpful when interpreting their experiences of this.

EXPERIENCING HOSPITALITY WORK

Managing Expectations

Guerrier and Adib (2000: 263) recognise that having the necessary technical skills is not enough for today's hospitality worker, that '...there is a requirement to manage the encounter so that the customer feels good'. However, as they also report, the nature of the encounter between hospitality worker and guest has changed over the years and across cultures. Thus guest expectations can range from, for example, expecting servitude, to wanting to be 'a friend'. Additionally, Guerrier and Adib recognise that within this spectrum, the relationship between worker and guest is subject to interpretation and abuse. They give the example of a worker at an exclusive health farm who experienced congeniality from some celebrity guests but intolerable abuse from others, to the point that the employee was publicly demeaned and humiliated. And as illustrated in an earlier example, some guests interpret 'service' to include provisions that are not deemed reasonable or acceptable, such as sexual entertainment (Guerrier and Adib, 2000:266). Guerrier and Adib also observe that these examples bring the focus of 'experiencing' hospitality back to the negotiated nature of the host-guest relationship', which point is particularly relevant to the small hotel owner needing to negotiate the relationship within his home as well as his business.

Managing Interactions

The use of emotional labour is commonplace in the hospitality industry, as portrayed recently by Ritzer (2004) in his view of The McDonaldisation of Society. Commenting on the 'scripting' of repetitious work activities, he suggests that this approach arguably satisfies the motives of emotional labour, that 'Recalcitrant customers are satisfied because they feel as if they are getting individualized treatment and an authentic response and managers are happy because their employees are following the subscripts' (Ritzer 2004: 92).

In terms of how employees experience this prescribed 'performance', Ritzer concludes that McDonald's workers generally find such scripts useful and 'even satisfying' (Ritzer, 2004: 92). He suggests possible reasons for this include '...being able to refer to the script to avoid unreasonable demands', using scripts '...to protect themselves from the insults and indignities that are frequently heaped on them by the public', and projecting customer hostility toward 'the script' and its creator, rather than themselves. Arguably such examples could be mirrored in the experiences of inexperienced hotel owners, learning the performance requirements of their roles. The nature of the host-guest relationship is further captured by Clark (1995:ix) who argues that 'the human element' is particularly relevant to the concept of 'hospitality', as a special caring relationship of the sort we share with family and friends, far more so than the service relationship we might share with a hairdresser or bank clerk'. An implication of this view is that to be successful in the industry, one needs '...highly sophisticated and effective communication and interpersonal skills in order to enhance these social interactions' (Clark, 1995: ix), which requires an understanding of human behaviour. Reflecting Goffman's (1959) insights into social interaction, Clark (1995:x) suggests what makes a 'good' performer.

There is far more to performing than merely learning a script, however good that script is. Great performances are about the ability to communicate moods, personalities, feelings, attitudes, through a number of cues, to the audience, with which they can identify, and which makes the characters' actions and behaviour meaningful in the context of the scene and story

Clarke's point here could be particularly relevant to hosts in my study in 'reading' guests' moods to judge what degree of interaction is appropriate. The role of emotion in the social interaction that constitutes the 'performance' of the host is clear in Clarke's point here, reflecting the importance of emotion management in the context of the host-guest relationship. A commercial benefit of such performances is evident in her further comment that '...winning and keeping customers are achieved through the communicative aspects of the receptionist's or head waiter's role as it is perceived by the customer' (Clark, 1995:x). However, Lashley (2001:178) observes that 'employees are frequently in a position of having to display one set of emotions when they actually feel something else, say when dealing with an unreasonable customer'. Here, he too alludes to the need for employees to use 'emotional management', for example to 'neutralize' strong emotions in others by adopting a calm and quiet manner. However, he notes that it is not uncommon for the 'right' emotions to be displayed 'front-of-house', only for the employee to release their inner feelings in the non-public areas, consistent with the coping strategies employed to deal with emotion management. This also reflects Guerrier's (1999) point that appropriation of space influences how hospitality is provided. Arguably, in a small hotel, alignment of a host's personality and experience with front-of-house and back-of-house roles could significantly shape the host's experience. Lashley (2001: 180) also concurs with the dramaturgical interpretation of emotion management, that 'At heart, emotion management requires acting. Service workers have certain roles to act and even within these jobs there are variations'.

Host Performances

Lashley (2001: 180) further explores the nature of the 'act' required by hospitality employees, which may be as diverse as creating a party atmosphere to having to deal with difficult customers. He argues that both surface and deep acting techniques may be used to meet these varying demands. Reflecting Hochschild's (1983) interpretations of these, he comments that surface acting '...does not need the service worker to actually feel the emotion, they just create the impression they do... Whilst this is less demanding on the individual, it is difficult to continuously display these appearances over a prolonged period, or when the person is tired, or when the feelings felt are opposite to the one intended'. He contrasts this with deep acting which he argues '...requires the actor to produce the feeling required, by calling on a past experience or imagining how it would feel to have these experiences'.

However, locating these trends of expected host performance within the context of the UK hospitality industry, he further comments that the 'have a nice day' culture constitutes an export from the US. Offering an amusing historical and cultural perspective he observes,

The Blackpool landlady of the 1940s and 1950s was not renowned for friendliness and hospitality. Indeed the notion that the customer was never right was a dominant impression at the time. Certainly, there has been a spread of informality that now encourages service customers to use the employee's first name and to expect a friendly exchange that verges on matey (Lashley, 2001:180)

I found the mixed picture Lashley presents here particularly illuminating with regard to small hotels, and anticipated finding examples of both polished performances and echoes of the Blackpool landlady in my study.

Empowerment and Emotion Management

Go, Monachello and Baum (1996:61) suggest that empowerment of employees is

'...particularly relevant in service industries, such as the hospitality and tourism...where lower level, frontline employees usually have the greatest amount of direct customer contact'. Citing the importance of first impressions, they argue that '...levels of customer satisfaction can be increased by empowering...employees to handle customer requests or problems immediately, rather than making them defer to a higher authority (e.g. a supervisor or manager)'. However, Lashley (1999 in 2001:6) observes that within '...supposed congruence of employee needs and organizational goals', there are different emphases in the notion of empowerment. For example, he draws on Barbee and Bott (1991) who suggest giving responsibility to those nearest to dealing with the problem, in contrast to Bowen and Lawler (1992) who focus on shared decision-making power. Lashley argues that each has different implications for employees. He exemplifies by drawing on the former to suggest that 'Dealing with customer complaints, which is frequently a feature of empowerment in service operations, puts the server in difficult and potentially stressful situations. They have to try to placate the customer, or anticipate customer needs. Many service organizations talk about employees aiming to "delight the customer", that is, provide a level of service beyond the customer's expectations of the service they will receive'. Hence Lashley (2001:7) implies here that the experience could be a less than positive one for the employee. However he argues that using the latter interpretation implies greater employee autonomy, that employees '...will be given some power to make decisions and resolve certain issues themselves...to deal with customer complaints or do "whatever it takes" to ensure customer satisfaction'.

Highlighting the emotional implications of empowerment, Lashley (2001:21) argues that a defining feature of the concept is that it is '...supposed to produce a psychological state. Empowerment by definition needs people to feel empowered' (citing Heslin, 1999). Indeed here, Lashley draws a link with emotion work, suggesting that there are two ways to consider the 'feelings' of empowerment,

First...for empowerment to take place, employees have, by definition, to feel empowered. Without feeling empowered employees or managers who are the subjects of empowerment have not been empowered, and it is useful to better understand the feelings of empowerment and the circumstances that generate them. On a second level, empowerment might be a means by which employees can be managed to create the feelings needed for their performance in the service contexts so that feelings of dissonance are dispelled

Guerrier and Adib (2003: 1414) reflect the benefits of empowering front-line staff in their study of holiday reps, concluding that in general the reps were '...disciplined workers, they generally behaved towards guests in ways which were in the best interest of their employing organization'. However they also note that in this case, the organization did not closely monitor or prescribe how to do the job. Thus they suggest that the autonomy and discretion this afforded the reps '...does seem to allow them to avoid some of the negative consequences of emotional labour' (citing Hochschild, 1983 for example). They offer this explanation of reps' behaviour,

They feel empowered to answer back to abusive guests (at least to a limited extent). They can find ways of increasing those parts of the work that they like (for example, by introducing party nights). They have the time and space to develop "friendships" with guests which make it easier to manage them.

Finally, Lashley (2001) draws together the ideas of emotional labour and employee empowerment, recognising that service organizations increasingly require emotional labour as part of their service provision, and suggests that empowerment may be a tool

that can be used to achieve this. He concludes that empowerment can be expected to enable employees to feel genuinely warm toward customers. These insights into the use of emotion management in the industry, whilst not directly applicable in this form, to small hotels, nonetheless provide useful insights into how the relative autonomy of hosts in the host-guest relationship can influence how they perform.

Host 'Control'

Warhurst and Nickson provide a different slant on the relationship between service employees and customers. They cite Appleyard (2002) who talked of experiencing "clipboard Nazis" who vet customers attempting to enter hotels, restaurants, bars and even department stores in New York'. Commenting on this apparent trend where service employees can judge the customer, they observe that this could be surprising, given that 'academic accounts emphasize the servility of routine interactive workers within the service encounter. Indeed, the contemporary and expanding service society would be better considered the servile society according to Korczynski (2002)' (Warhurst and Nickson, 2007: 786).

However, citing Bradley *et al* (2000), Warhurst and Nickson argue that, in contrast to a 'service proletariat', that 'a new asymmetry between producer and consumer is also possible, in which producers subordinate consumers and shape the service interaction'. Here, they refer to emotional labour literature, pointing to 'the necessity for workers to seek to control the emotions of customers', illustrating this with insurance workers who 'were expected to assert themselves in their relationships with customers' (Leidner, 1991:117 in Warhurst and Nickson, 2007: 787-8). They also cite Keates (1997) who reported that 'A growing number of "chic" hotels are intentionally more hostile than hospitable' with one customer saying 'they (the staff) are daring to be rude because they know this place is hot and trendy', alluding to the impact of the aesthetics of the establishment. Indeed they add that aesthetic research has focused on the 'style labour market' such as boutique hotels, in which employees have to have the 'right look' to attract and retain custom. They argue that this sort of emphasis on aesthetics impacts on staff recruitment (Warhurst and Nickson, 2007: 789). They exemplify that 'In the boutique hotel, Hotel Elba, which used words such as stylish, passionate, tasty and confident to describe the image of the hotel (and by extension the workers intended to embody such an image) the personnel manager noted how the hotel wanted workers who had "a certain amount of cockiness about them, quite confident, quite brash, quite cosmopolitan"' (Warhurst and Nickson, 2007: 791-792). I anticipated encountering similar sentiments to these amongst small hotel owners keen to 'protect' their particular hotel identities.

Warhurst and Nickson gave yet another example of an exclusive nightclub where servers played a 'game' of placing the customer in a hierarchy, dependent on their tipping behaviour and suitability as regular patrons. Thus '...new, unassessed, customers would often struggle to be served, not warranting a glance from servers' (citing Sosteric, 1996: 792). Hence they observed that 'The rejection of simplistic notions of "the customer is always right" meant that employees were allowed to develop highly personalized service styles' and were 'encouraged to "be themselves"' (Warhurst and Nickson, 2007:792). This too might be reflected in small hotel owners who arguably enjoy greater freedom to 'be themselves' than perhaps their corporate counterparts. Warhurst and Nickson concluded by comparing different contemporary service encounters, that 'The servility type, with its worker subordination, remains but is now complemented by others: one in which there is equivalence between worker and customer; another in which the worker is potentially superordinate'. They suggest that the latter 'has emerged from the gentrification of some retail and hospitality jobs in the UK and which is itself an outcome of the recent product

market positioning of these particular service organizations and this positioning's required labour utilization' (Warhurst and Nickson, 2007:793). I was also interested to discover in my own study if such trends were reflected in the small hotel sector, for example as boutique hotels.

GUESTS

This final section examines aspects of who constitutes 'the guest' that I found particularly relevant to my study. First I consider how guests are understood as 'customers', and second, I explore trends in customer behaviour that I considered might be encountered by small hotel owners in my study.

GUESTS AS 'CUSTOMERS'

To examine the role of the guest in the host-guest relationship it is instructive to consider how guests, as 'customers', may be defined. Hence I first examined how the 'customer' is conceptualised. Sturdy for example cites Rosenthal, Peccei and Hill (2001) as providing insights into how "the customer" is represented in management and organisation literature. Rosenthal *et al* argue that 'tropes of "customers" are far from homogenous, ranging from sovereigns, spies, vampires, thieves, consumers of sexuality and quasi-employees to obsessions' and that 'each of these, especially that of the sovereign, may be deployed in different ways, with contrasting and conflicting meanings'. These depictions of 'the customer' thus portray a multiplicity of roles that in turn shape the service relationship, and hence the role of the service provider. A recent contribution from Gabriel and Lang (2008) takes a similar stance in their concerns about generalising about 'consumers' both as a concept and entity. Building on this theme, Bolton and Houlihan (2005:685) suggest a need to 'reinterpret customer service interaction as a human relationship' which echoes Bolton's work on emotion management and the argument that 'humanity' needs to be recaptured in such interactions. Drawing on the views of call centre workers, Bolton and Houlihan report customers as being 'many-faceted, complex and sophisticated social actors'.

As a result, Bolton and Houlihan (2005:685) introduced 'a new conceptual framework of the roles customers play; as mythical sovereigns, functional transactants and moral agents', suggesting that this offers 'a more accurate representation of customer service and the role of the actors involved in it'. They explain that "'mythical sovereigns"... seek to exercise their perceived right to demand not just service, but servitude from service providers, "functional transactants"...want to carry out a transaction in the simplest manner possible...and 'moral agents' ...fully engage with service providers, recognizing that service providers and customers are economic and social actors and that customer interaction is a socially relevant activity' (Bolton and Houlihan, 2005: 686). They stress that a customer may adopt a mix of these approaches, arguing that 'Customers...like customer-service workers, are many-sided, complex and sophisticated actors' (Bolton and Houlihan, 2005: 687).

Bolton and Houlihan (2005: 698) concluded that the 'voices' of the call centre workers in their study 'clearly show how customer sovereignty is by and large, mythical, but most notably of all, that despite the powerful discourse of enterprise, neither producers nor consumers believe in the myth. Clearly, customers can be demanding and aggressive, but...this is not because of any sense of divine right to demean service workers. Rather, customers are discomfited by the experience of de-personalized, target-driven service; it disrupts the moral order and their place as moral agents'. This puts quite a different slant on the generally accepted notion of customer sovereignty, and also questions the

rationale behind emotion management approaches such as emotional labour. Bolton and Houlihan (2005: 699) add that 'By placing actors' experiences of the service encounter firmly within political, economic and social structures, it becomes possible to recognize the variety of means employed to mould the encounter according to economic imperatives, whilst also acknowledging, both the agency of service providers and customers and their subjective interpretations of the experience', thus drawing attention to both macro and micro power influences on customer relationships. I found Bolton and Houlihan's analysis particularly illuminating with regard to how small hotel owners might perceive their guests, for example as individuals or as a collective group. This could have implications for how they 'read' and satisfy their needs.

TRENDS IN CUSTOMER BEHAVIOUR

In contrast to Bolton and Houlihan's findings, Harris and Reynolds (2004) provide insights into the 'darker' side of customer behaviour, the phenomenon of 'jaycustomers'. They observe that this term was originated by Lovelock (1994) to refer to 'customers who deliberately act in a thoughtless or abusive manner, causing problems for the firm, employees, or other customers' (Harris and Reynolds, 2004: 339). They give Lovelock's (1994; 2001) 'anecdotal' profile of jaycustomer behaviours as, "vandals" who intentionally deface organisational property... "thieves"...who have no intention of paying for a service... "belligerents"...who act in an argumentative or aggressive fashion toward service personnel... "family feuders" who quarrel with other customers and family members ... "deadbeats"...who fail to pay for services that they have already received...and "rule breakers"...who fail to conform to the unwritten rules and norms of service encounters' (Harris and Reynolds, 2004: 342). They add Bitner *et al*'s (1994) four examples of 'problem customers', drawing on insights from front-line service workers. One of these is 'rule breakers' (as with Lovelock). However, the other three are ' "drunken" behaviours...that consequently disrupt the ambiance of the service establishment and subsequently infringe on the enjoyment of other customers' service encounters ... "uncooperative" customers...who generally exhibit rude and demanding behaviour toward front-line staff...and 'verbally or physically abusive customers, directing this behavior toward employees or other customers' (Harris and Reynolds, 2004:342).

Gill, Moon, Seaman and Turbin (2002) also drew attention to 'criminal activities by customers in hotels' including 'prostitution...theft of room items...fraudulent credit cards' and Jones and Groeneboom (2002) describe three types of criminal activities by hotel customers` "violent crimes including physical attacks of employees and other guests..."property crimes" referring to theft from vehicles...theft from rooms and vandalism of hotel property...and "drug offences...the sale of illegal drugs ...within the hotel premises and subsequent intoxicated behaviours' (Harris and Reynolds, 2004: 342). Withiam (1998) puts it more succinctly, referring to 'customers from hell who might use "foul language" and belittle staff' (Harris and Reynolds, 2004: 342).

Building on these, Harris and Reynolds's own study (2004:344) identified eight types of jaycustomers; compensation letter writers, undesirable customers, property abusers, service workers, vindictive customers, oral abusers, physical abusers, and sexual predators. Of these the most common form of abuse according to employees and customers, was 'oral abusers'. The second most common according to customers was 'undesirable customers', and for employees was 'property abusers' followed by physical abusers. Harris and Reynolds explain the term 'undesirable customers' as meaning 'consumers or users of services that are viewed as unattractive, unwanted, or objectionable by customer-contact personnel, the management of the organization, or fellow service users' (Harris and Reynolds, 2004:345). Korczynski and Bishop (2008:75)

commented that the growth in abuse and violence toward front-line service workers resulted not from 'the breakdown of social mores, but rather as an outcome of reconfiguration of social mores around an ideology of customer sovereignty'. They concluded that customer abuse should be renamed 'customer bullying', a view echoed by Bishop and Hoel (2008:351) who identified 'an imbalance of power between customer and employee' in their study of UK job centres, although the staff viewed this as 'part of the job'.

These perspectives suggest that the potential for customers (or guests) to be abusive or unpleasant must be a consideration for service providers, such as small hotel hosts establishing and negotiating the host-guest relationship. I was intrigued to discover if and to what extent this was an issue for the small hotel owners in my study. Here, I was mindful of how 'power' might be manifested in the host-guest relationship, since as Sturdy (2001:3) observes, customer service '...is based on the largely flawed, but powerful, neo-liberal concept of the sovereign customer and free markets. It is understood that consumers know what they want and that they are all powerful in being able to choose and switch suppliers'. He suggest that when customer service is promoted through a relational approach together with empowerment, that the use of the latter 'might be seen as an attempt to counter consumer antipathy to scripted service and to reconstruct" traditional" forms of customer interaction' (Sturdy, 2001:3-5). Further, referring to the role of emotion management in such relations, Sturdy contends that 'The way in which (emotional) labour is prescribed, performed and experienced remains ...a question of power and/or control'.

However, arguably the picture may differ in the small hotel environment where the host-guest dynamic mainly draws on notions of 'reciprocity' and 'hospitalableness' familiar to private and social hospitality domains. Indeed, Tucker and Lynch's (2004:11) idea of 'guest matching' is an example of the host-guest relationship being perceived as relational and negotiable, rather than a transaction in favour of the guest. Drawing on studies of home-hosted accommodation in New Zealand and Scotland, Tucker and Lynch argue that 'a psychographic matching between hosts and guests would inevitably enhance the quality of the experience of both guests and hosts' (Tucker and Lynch, 2004: 13) because 'there needs to be a certain level of matching, or commonality, between hosts and guests' (Tucker and Lynch, 2004: 22). Here they explain psychographics as '...an operational technique to measure lifestyle' (citing Arnould *et al*, 2002) and which can be used to help understand how consumers live (Witt and Moutinho, 1995: 316).

Hence the picture emerges of shifting interpretations of who is the 'customer' and suggested trends of less palatable customer behaviour. How this might be reflected in small hotels will inevitably relate to how power and emotion management are interpreted and played out in those contexts.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The key points I identify in this chapter as being particularly pertinent to my study are:

- The host-guest relationship is central to hospitality provision. Hence interpretations of it, through its traditions and history for example, can shape how it is manifested in that relationship, such as a transaction or exchange.
- The three-domains model usefully identifies different forms of hospitality and how they do, and could, interrelate.

- Characteristics that are common to all domains are the influence of hosts' motives, allocation of host-guest space, and changing guest tastes.
- Beyond the three-domain model, a multidisciplinary critical conceptualisation of hospitality further illuminates how the host-guest relationship is experienced, situated as it is at the core of this model.
- Motives of small hotel owners are unlikely to be solely business-focused, but may well incorporate a lifestyle element.
- Hospitality work reflects 'housework' in its tedium, repetitiveness and never-ending nature, and hence can evoke emotions associated with being 'house-proud', such as pride and guilt.
- 'Dirty Work' is also intrinsic to hospitality work, and thus attracts emotional responses that derive from that work and its 'tainted' associations.
- To manage guest expectations through host-guest interactions, hosts need to 'balance' the fragile nature of the host-guest relationship. This involves emotion work, as emotion management and sometimes as emotional labour, with hosts engaging in 'natural' and/or 'acted' performances.
- In the commercial sector empowerment is encouraged, though employee experiences vary in terms of the extent to which they 'feel' empowered.
- Recent evidence suggests some commercial service providers taking control over customer selection and behaviour.
- Perceiving guests as a heterogeneous customer group challenges the notion of customer sovereignty.
- Trends in 'jaycustomer' behaviour inform possible manifestations of guest behaviour in small hotels.

Chapter 5

METHODOLOGY

ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS

To underpin my research study I identified my ontological and epistemological positions. Issues that contributed to these included; the nature of the phenomena I studied, the questions I wanted to address, my own values and preferences as to what are the boundaries for 'seeing the world' and wanting to know more about it, and what I considered methodologically feasible for my study. As Johnson and Duberley (2000:1) explain, our underlying epistemological assumptions influence '...how we come to ask particular questions...assess the relevance and value of different research methodologies...(to) investigate those questions ...(and)...evaluate the outputs of research'. My ontological and epistemological considerations together informed the philosophical position I chose to adopt, to best suit my proposed research design, where the philosophical position provides the fundamental 'thinking' behind a study. My research design hence needed to align with the underlying principles of that philosophy.

However, as Johnson and Duberley (2000:3) also point out, a paradox exists that theorizing about knowledge from a particular epistemological stance does itself embody inherent assumptions about how that knowledge has been developed in the first instance. Here they argue that '...epistemology confronts a fundamental problem of circularity, from which it cannot escape...'. Nonetheless, epistemological assumptions *have* to be confronted since they influence the researcher's ontological position, their beliefs about their world and the social phenomena they are researching (Creswell, 1998, my emphasis). Responding to Johnson and Duberley's contention, I recognised the need to continually challenge and evaluate assumptions I made about the nature and production of knowledge in my own research. This is reflected in my discussion of how I met the ontological and epistemological challenges of understanding and 'knowing' emotion in Chapter 2 and how I interpreted 'hospitality' in Chapter 4.

However, the circularity argument also implies that to 'know' one's epistemological stance one must 'know' what we believe and take for granted about the social world, but which is entwined with the epistemological perspective itself since what we believe about our world will be shaped by what knowledge we choose, or can access, to 'know' that world. Collis and Hussey (2003:48) simplify this by suggesting that to determine an ontological position, the researcher must decide '...whether you consider the world is objective and external to the researcher, or socially constructed and only understood by examining the perceptions of the human actors'. My own view here is that what constitutes 'reality' is contestable and open to interpretation, depending on how it is 'seen' and experienced by individual social actors. This permits that, though differing, these contrasting views are equally valid worldviews and thus invite alternative explanations of the 'reality' of that world.

Hence in my study I allowed research participants to articulate how they constructed their own realities of emotion management and surrounding emotionalities of the host-guest relationship, and the meaning those experiences held for them. My subsequent interpretation of *their* interpretation of these experiences then enabled me to consider alternative explanations of how emotion management was manifested in the host-guest relationship. Through an exploratory narrative approach, my own knowledge of the phenomena was enhanced through my participants' viewpoints, and these new insights in turn shaped my ontological perspective of those phenomena, again reflecting the

epistemological circularity to which Johnson and Duberley refer. As an interpretive researcher I also recognised that I could not conduct the research in a wholly value-free manner, but that as a social actor myself, my views, values and biases inevitably brought some subjectivity to the research process. What was critical was that I recognised this in interpreting my data.

My positioning can be located within a constructivist paradigm characterised by a relativist ontology, subjective creative epistemology and a hermeneutical/dialectical methodology (Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:165). As Robson (2002) and Bryman and Bell (2007) suggest, constructivist researchers struggle with the idea of an objective 'known' reality but instead seek to understand different socially constructed meanings. Here Schwandt (2000:197) explains that social constructionist epistemologies draw on everyday 'constructivism', where this is interpreted as human beings being active in the construction of knowledge, that they 'construct' rather than 'discover'. Connecting these ideas to qualitative study and interpretivist philosophy, Schwandt (2000:210) concludes that 'The qualitative inquiry movement is built on a profound concern with understanding what other human beings are doing or saying' and that philosophies of interpretivism and social constructionism present different ways of addressing this concern, but share the need to define what 'understanding' means and how the inquirer justifies claims 'to understand'.

PHILOSOPHICAL POSITION

Schwandt (2000) explains that interpretivism focuses on understanding the meaning of social action, in the context of that action and the intentions of the actor, which in turn requires interpretation of that action. This view aligns with my choice of interpretivism as my research philosophy for two reasons. It accords with my ontological and epistemological positions, and is posited on the notion that social reality is contested and that the meanings individual actors attribute to their subjective experiences provide valid alternative representations of that social reality. Hence in my study, inviting participants to share their different perspectives of experiencing emotionality and hospitality, gave validity to their subjectivities as 'owned' by them, in contrast to the positivist emphasis on reality as an absolute observable 'truth'.

I also justify my choice of interpretivism as being appropriate to the phenomena I researched and the type of research questions that guided my study. Taking the phenomena first, the lens through which I researched the host-guest relationship was that of 'emotion', which is itself subject to ontological and epistemological controversy as I have discussed in my Literature Review. Further, as I explained in that review, I was persuaded by the idea of emotion as a socially constructed shared interpersonal phenomenon influenced by intrapsychic sources, rather than emotion seen as something 'contained' within the person. Thus in accepting that individuals have an agential role in constructing emotion rather than experiencing it passively, I subscribed to the notion that their emotional experiences could best be investigated by 'knowing' those subjective experiences, through social actors' own narratives of how their emotion is constructed. Similarly, the phenomenon of 'hospitality' that underpins my research context (the host-guest relationship) is also associated with socially constructed reality, where, for example, this can be experienced differently across commercial social and private domains, and be interpreted as relational or transactional in focus. Its contested interpretations also reflect its long tradition in social and economic history, manifested for example in its coupling with hostility. Hence the way hospitality is experienced can be shaped by the vagaries of these conceptual paradoxes.

The phrasing of my research questions also aligns with my choice of interpretivism since my questions aimed to determine the meaning behind the data rather than solely describing them or explaining relationships between variables. Thus I was interested to know not only how emotion was manifested and managed in the host-guest relationship, but the reasons for this. My intentions thus aligned more with exploratory than explanatory or descriptive research (Saunders, 2009). This approach had implications for my role as a researcher, since to understand the phenomena I was investigating and the meanings research participants attached to experiencing them, I, as the researcher, needed to be as close to the phenomena as possible to ascertain 'the details of the situation to understand the reality or perhaps a reality working behind them' (Remenyi *et al*, 1998:35 in Saunders, 2009:111). Here, an important element of my data was participants' use of narrative and metaphor to convey their emotion experiences and the meanings they attached to them. As the researcher I then brought my own 'layer' of interpretation to the 'voices and interpretations of informants through extensive quotes' (Creswell, 1998:76).

RESEARCH STRATEGY – NARRATIVE INQUIRY

I chose narrative inquiry as my research strategy, where I recognised that 'narrative' could constitute both phenomenon and method, so that 'Narrative names the structured quality of experience to be studied, and it names the patterns of inquiry for its study' (Clandinin and Connelly in Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:155). This interpretation of 'narrative' accords with my own approach, of inviting 'storytelling' and narrative accounts from my participants, where these could represent their experiences.

One reason for using narrative inquiry is its centrality to the human condition. As Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998:7) suggest, as human beings we are natural storytellers, with stories playing a central role in our communication with one another to explain our experiences. Also, as Webster and Mertova (2007) add, narrative inquiry can illuminate the detail but capture the holism of people's lives, with the narrator often encoding their experience through narrative. This might be particularly so with emotion experiences which people may find difficult to articulate. Further, as Gibbs (2002:174) suggests, narrative and stories are rhetorical devices social actors use 'to represent and contextualise their experience and personal knowledge'. In my study for example I invited accounts of 'personal knowledge' by encouraging hoteliers to say how they came to run a hotel and how they found that experience. Similarly, participants' freedom to 'encode' their experiences of emotion management arguably facilitated expression of those experiences. Here, I drew on Fineman's view that (1993:221) 'we require a medium, or mediums, which represent and convey feeling in fulsome evocation, timbre and context. The constructions of normal social science do not help very much. At best they offer everyday feeling-labels...anxiety, fear, happiness, joy, gloom, despair, excitement, envy, guilt, shame...these ...do not specify the emotional nuances...Feelings ebb and flow. They are sharp and diffuse. They are sometimes hard to describe, and when they are described they often become "something else". So our difficulty is more than an arbitrary issue of methodological choice: the method makes the feelings'. Here, he adds that 'Narratives based on ...stories...and interviews would provide a data-set from which the interlayering and unfolding of emotional experience can be defined'. However, Fineman also points to the implications for the researcher here, that 'Always, though, the investigator is part of the account...he or she selects, does the looking, listening...edits the tape recording, holds the pen. The challenge of subjectivity research is to acknowledge and honour this intermingling' (Fineman, 1993:222). I fully recognised these issues in my role as the researcher. I adopted positive listening rather than 'active story sharing' (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008: 217) and was cognisant of Fineman's observations in my analysis and interpretation of the data.

A second reason for using narrative inquiry is ontological and epistemological. As Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008:210) suggest, the narrative approach is commonly thought to have its ontological and epistemological roots in social constructionism (after Berger and Luckmann, 1967). They cite Bruner (1986) as suggesting that 'narrative' offers a different way of 'knowing' to scientific logic. Lieblich *et al* (1998:2) echo this, that the underlying assumptions of narrative research are different to those of positivistic traditions, that '...there is neither a single, absolute truth in human reality nor one correct reading or interpretation of a text' so that '...the narrative approach advocates pluralism, relativism, and subjectivity'. I therefore considered this approach not only aligned with my ontological and epistemological assumptions but was appropriate to make sense of my qualitative interview data. Further, as Polkinghorne (1995) suggests (in Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008) "narrative knowing" acknowledges the value of all oral and written texts and language practices in constructing our understanding about reality'. Hence, as Eriksson and Kovalainen point out, it is in this context that social scientists such as Clandinin and Connelly (2000) and Reissman (1993) have developed 'narrative methodologies', characterised by rich, thick and contextual text. They also echo other views that a justification for doing narrative research is a belief that 'storytelling' 'can help us to understand ourselves and connect to each other' (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008:211).

A third reason for using narrative inquiry is, as Lieblich *et al* (1998:9) argue, narrative methodology generates 'unique and rich data that cannot be obtained from experiments, questionnaires, or observations' but they warn that it carries with it the challenge of interpreting large quantities of material, and that data can be influenced by the interaction between interviewer and interviewee. I contend that as a positive listener I minimised the latter, but certainly had to contend with the former!

To operationalise narrative inquiry, I drew on Eriksson and Kovalainen's explanation (2008:211-212) that the key 'concepts' of narrative research are the 'story' and 'narrative'. Although these terms may be used interchangeably in everyday language, they suggest that narrative researchers distinguish between them. They explain a 'story' as 'a piece of fiction that narrates a chain of related events or happenings that involves certain characters' that 'may be private...can be fictional or factual, and is often chronological'. In contrast they suggest that a 'narrative' is 'the textual actualization of a story at a specific time and context, and to a specific audience', and is characterised by having a 'defined structure and a coherent plot, which can be related in a particular way and possibly to evoke particular emotion'. In my study I could identify stories that my participants related within their overall narratives.

To acquire stories and narrative, Webster and Mertova (2007:71) offer the idea of narrative as an 'event-driven tool of research' where 'specific events are key determinants in how we recall our life experiences'. They argue that focusing on 'critical events' can enable the researcher to reach what is critical in research and to deal with large amounts of data. Here they explain a 'critical event' as a story that 'reveals a change of understanding or worldview by the storyteller' adding that 'An event becomes critical in that it impacts on the performance of the storyteller'. Here, Webster and Mertova (2007:73) argue that narrative accounts can include 'stories' of such events, with narrative providing the context of the event and the outcome of what the experience meant to the narrator. This was illustrated in my study for example by Chas, who narrated an account of how he dealt with transgressions in guest behaviour, with the particular 'plot' to explain how humour could be useful in this regard. He punctuated his account with 'We had one funny incident, a really really funny incident...' and proceeded to tell a 'story' of how a stag night for some guests ended with the 'stag' being locked in a police cell. Chas told

this story to emphasise its comic quality, but his integration of 'story' and 'narrative' illustrates the interrelationship between the two. I concur with Webster and Mertova's view (2007:75) that critical events can be both planned and unplanned, recognising both types in the 'stories' within my participants' narratives. However, aware of Gabriel's (2000: 140) point that 'While collecting stories, researchers must reflect on the fundamental unit of analysis of their research' I was careful to distinguish between stories and narrative in my data, as illustrated in the 'Chas' example given here.

The approach I adopted toward narrative inquiry also aligned with Eriksson and Kovalainen's (2008:216) suggestion of encouraging participants 'to tell their story from their own point of view and with their own words and ways of expression' though I did use some 'guiding' interview questions in my semi-structured approach. Thus I argue that I did not really conduct 'narrative interviews' but interviews that allowed the production of narrative. Hence I used 'narrative –pointed questions' which Eriksson and Kovalainen suggest can ask about a long period of time (such as ownership of a hotel) or a specific event (such as an 'average day'). However, the use of narrative as a research tool was not without its problems. As Clandinin and Connelly (1998) point out, narrative researchers have to deal with large volumes of data, and therefore need to constantly attend to their research purpose throughout the study to consider the relevance of the data. I did this by regularly interrogating my interview transcripts throughout the analytic process. However, by taking Webster and Mertova's (2007:114) advice of inviting critical events to help participants recall their experiences, to some extent I avoided being swamped with extensive amounts of data that could result in 'an endless *burrowing* process rather than a *broadening* approach' (original emphasis).

RESEARCH SETTING

HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY – SMALL HOTELS

The macro research setting I chose for my study was the hospitality industry, with a specific focus on small hotels within that. My reasons for choosing this sector have been discussed in the Introduction, Chapter 1. I will now explain in more detail how I interpreted the 'small hotel' for the purposes of my study. Guerrier and Adib (2000: 259) observe that the UK industry still includes '...a large number of small, often family run, businesses', including for example, 'boutique or specialist accommodation' (McIntosh and Siggs, 2005:74) or commercial home enterprises (Lynch, 2005a: 2). I encountered all these varieties in my own research, so will elaborate on how they can be understood. First, a general definition of a 'small' hotel is one 'typically supplying fewer than fifty bedrooms, employing fewer than ten people, and operating in the lower reaches of the market' (World Tourism Organisation, 2000 in Morrison and Conway, 2007:49).

Boutique Hotels

McIntosh and Siggs' (2005) study of boutique hotels in New Zealand revealed that guests' experiences of these related to five key experiential dimensions that are seen as important to the success of the boutique accommodation product; their unique character, their personalized and homely nature, their quality, and the value added. I found one example in my own study that aligned with this description, though as the owner acknowledged, it could not be considered 'homely'.

Commercial Home Enterprises

Lynch (2005a: 2) defines 'commercial home enterprise' as meaning

...types of accommodation where visitors or guests pay to stay in private homes, where interaction takes place with a host and/or family usually living upon the premises and with whom public space is, to a degree, shared

He adds that they generally have no more than 11 bedrooms and usually 3 to 6. Additionally Morrison *et al* (1996) suggest that small family-run hotels are one example of commercial homes.

In the context of the commercial home, Lynch (2005b: 41) conceptualises the 'home' as a '...temporal, cultural, personal and emotional construct'. It can be argued that the way in which a commercial home owner perceives his or her home in terms of these dimensions is likely to shape how they share that home with paying guests. For example, hosts and guests may expect a 'homely' atmosphere (Stringer, 1981) possibly with a feeling of being 'home from home' (Lowe, 1988). Additionally, reflecting the cultural nature of the home construct, the home can function as a place of self-expression, the home itself and its contents mirroring the identity of the owner and conveying a 'statement' about him (Lynch, 2005b:42). Another facet to the commercial home is its 'emotional' dimension, where Di Domenico and Lynch (2007: 120) suggest that the home space is '...very emotive and thickly laden with meaning and expression'. Expanding on this, they argue that the home can be a vehicle through which the host can represent and define his identity and as such may reflect the individual's cultural norms together with wider social trends and fashions. Indeed, such expression may be manifested through, for example, a luxury boutique image. However, Lynch (2005b: 45) also highlights that the 'home' aspect can be in tension with the 'commercial' function of a commercial home, so that negotiating host-guest space can be in constant flux. This may be associated with ambiguities in the host-guest relationship, for example where guests may 'stray' into the 'back' accommodation but also where host-guest relationships may evolve as natural and 'intimate' (Lynch, 1999:123). This concept offered an illuminating insight into characteristics that small hotels in my study might present, though not all of them could be considered 'commercial homes'.

UK Hotel Grading

To conclude my depiction of the small hotel setting in the UK, I will briefly explain some of the industry grading systems that might apply to hotels in my study. The establishments I investigated all referred to themselves as 'hotels'. However they could attract different 'labels' according to industry interpretations. So for example, the English Tourism Council (ETC Accommodation Ratings) distinguish between 'hotel' as meaning 'formal accommodation with a full service' as distinct from 'Bed and Breakfast' (B & B's) which involve 'accommodation provided in a private house by the owner for up to six paying guests' and Guest House Accommodation which is 'for more than six paying guests, with the owner and staff providing more services e.g. dinner'. The ETC attribute grading in the form of 'stars' to hotels and 'diamonds' to B & B/ Guesthouse accommodation. Hence the 'hotels' in my study are likely to fall under the 'B & B' category here, so I will briefly explain what the ETC mean by 'diamond' ratings.

One diamond – a clean establishment, offering a minimal service with a full cooked or substantial continental breakfast

Two diamonds – courteous and helpful service. Breakfast prepared with a good level of care and bedrooms are comfortable

Three diamonds – positive and friendly service. Breakfast prepared using good quality ingredients. Rooms well-appointed and comfortable

Four diamonds – attentive and welcoming service. Breakfast prepared using fresh ingredients with a high degree of care. Rooms have comfortable beds and furnishings of high quality

Five diamonds – guests made to feel at home and extra services offered. Breakfast is of an excellent quality, prepared using fresh, local and seasonal ingredients. Rooms have comfortable beds and furnishing of excellent quality

Additionally, hotels in my study could attract gold and silver awards, which Guestaccomm (guestaccomm.co.uk) explain are given 'to properties that not only achieve their overall rating but also exceed the expectations within their rating level'. The awards recognise 'the high level of comfort, cleanliness, hospitality and service afforded'. These are defined thus,

Silver – recognises high quality in all areas of the business, with very good levels of customer care

Gold - properties achieving a gold award will demonstrate exceptional levels of quality, comfort, cleanliness, hospitality and attentive service

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

For the geographical location for my study I chose Bournemouth as a major UK resort, for reasons of convenience of physical access. First, as I live in the town I could easily access most hotels within a 15-minute drive. Second, small hotels are plentiful in Bournemouth, thus affording me a potentially wide sample frame from which to secure a sample.

LOCATION OF HOTELS

The hotels I researched were all located within the Bournemouth conurbation but in different parts of the town. Hoteliers commonly described these different areas in terms of their positions relative to amenities (such as the town centre, the beach and the rail station), but also in terms of their relative perceived 'status'. So for example, areas might be described as 'quiet residential' or 'prestigious location' or 'convenient'. Inevitably, the perceived status of the area could align with the image hoteliers wished to portray and also with the image guests attributed to different hotels, such as 'classy' or 'good value for money'. Hence geographical positioning could influence client profiles.

I offer descriptions of the hotels I researched, using hoteliers' own descriptions of themselves taken from their website promotional material. Both hotel names and names of owners have been anonymised to maintain confidentiality. I have done this by grouping hotels by geographical location and have enhanced readers' perceptions of the areas with photos that do not capture the hotels themselves, again to protect their anonymity, but give the reader an idea of how those areas appear, to convey a 'feel' for the research settings. I also include a map that illustrates the relative of proximity of hotels to one another.

The geographical areas I have identified are either side of the town centre pier, with the east side of the town further classified by being either side of a second pier, in Boscombe. The descriptions of 'upmarket' and 'popular' are my own, based on my reading of hoteliers' own descriptions. So from west to east, the areas are:

- Upmarket West Cliff
- Popular West Cliff
- Town Centre West Cliff

Town Centre Pier

- Town Centre East Cliff
- Upmarket East Cliff
- Springbourne (where Springbourne is inland from Upmarket East Cliff and is located close to the main rail station)
- Popular Boscombe

Boscombe Pier

- Upmarket Boscombe
- Southbourne

Please refer to the map on the next page, which depicts the relative locations of hotels in my sample. The hotels are identified by initials, which are explained in the subsequent descriptions of each hotel.

DESCRIPTION OF HOTELS

Upmarket West Cliff

Yarmouth (Y) (large family hotel)

Yarmouth is now demolished but when run by Vera and her husband was described as offering *'the warmest of welcomes...from staff who will delight in pleasing you'*. The hotel was depicted as *'family owned and managed for over fifty years'* where guests *'feel at home'* and benefit from the staff's *'wealth of experience'*. They boasted an *'envied reputation for both comfort and service'*, advertising Yarmouth as *'the better 3 star class of hotel'* with its wide-ranging amenities such as a ballroom, swimming pool and sauna.

Everdene (EE) (small hotel)

Everdene is run by Hazel and Ricky. An immediate impact of their website is that the hotel is graded as *'Visit Britain and RAC Rating of 4 Diamonds'*. It is described as *'an elegant Victorian villa'* set in *'spacious lawned gardens'*. Hazel and Ricky emphasise that it has been *'lovingly refurbished'* to offer *'comfortable surroundings'* drawing particular attention to the *'individual character'* of the rooms. Its proximity to the town centre is highlighted, with all amenities described as *'within easy walking distance'*. Hazel and Ricky advertise their *'many years hotel experience'* and that they offer *'high standards of service with the friendly atmosphere of a family run hotel'*.

Popular West Cliff

Woodley (W) (small hotel)

Owned by Terry, Woodley is described as *'a delightful and professionally run'* hotel that caters for a range of people including single travellers and conference delegates but advertises a *'deliberate policy NOT to cater for Hen and Stag nights'*. The hotel is billed as meeting Bournemouth Quality Standards. To convey the atmosphere of the hotel, Terry says *'our bar opens on evenings of exceptional conviviality!'*

Jaydon (J) (small hotel)

The website for this hotel begins *'Phil and Shirley welcome you to the Jaydon'* which they describe as *'family run'*. They emphasise that the rooms are *'comfortable'* and *'clean'*. Their market positioning is captured by the description that *'Phil and Shirley believe in honest pricing with an emphasis on Value for Money, Service and Presentation'* describing their rates as *'favourable'*. They add that *'you can be sure of the personal touch'*, and emphasise the convenience of their location, that it is situated on the *'popular West Cliff'* and *'within minutes walking distance'* from the beach and town centre amenities. They also advertise *'contractors welcome'*.

Chinedale (C) (small hotel)

Chinedale is run by Rebecca, her husband, and Rebecca's parents. This is reflected in its description as a *'small family run hotel'*. The family say they *'aim to make your stay as comfortable as possible'*, describing the rooms as *'comfortable and tastefully decorated'*. The hotel's convenient position close to the town centre is reflected in its description as *'ideally situated'*.

Newmount (N) (small hotel)

Newmount is owned by Marion and her family. Their website states '*Welcome to Newmount, a family run hotel offering cleanliness and comfort*'. The description goes on to refer to its '*prime position*' on the West Cliff, and, as with others in the area, that it is '*a short walk from all the amenities*'. The website advertises the quality of the hotel as '*our Four Diamond Guest Accommodation rating*', which is described as a '*quality family run hotel*'. The owners assure guests that a '*warm and friendly atmosphere awaits with the emphasis on personal service*', and finish by inviting '*It will be our pleasure to welcome you to Newmount*'.

Town Centre West Cliff**Dalebourne (D)** (large family hotel)

Dalebourne has now been demolished but when under the ownership of Mark and Paula the website described the hotel as '*superbly situated on the West Cliff, overlooking the sea in the heart of Bournemouth*'. The hotel faced onto a main road leading from the pier to the West Cliff but 'backed onto' the sea. Graded as 2-star, the hotel boasted a '*30 foot swimming pool*' and '*excellent table d'hote menu*'. It was described as dating to the eighteenth century and still having '*much of the character and warmth of the original building*' combined with modern amenities. The description continued that it was '*owned and run by the same family for over 40 years*' and that the '*resident directors*' Mark and Paula '*ensure the hotel retains the welcome and standards that guests have come to expect*'.

Durley Dunes (DD) (large corporate hotel)

Durley Dunes is part of an international chain owned by an American parent company. Described as a '*4-star luxury hotel*' its rooms are depicted as '*richly appointed*'. It is located on the cliff top with views across Bournemouth Bay. Facilities advertised include conference rooms and exhibition spaces, leisure club and swimming pool. Catering for weddings and conferences is also highlighted and that the hotel suits both business and leisure travellers.

Town Centre East Cliff**Grasmere (G)** (large family hotel)

Grasmere is situated on a main road leading to the town centre/beach. Graded as a 3 star hotel, the website says the hotel provides '*friendly yet professional service*'. Owner Mary and staff claim that the restaurant is '*renowned*' for its '*fine food and friendly service*' and that the bar provides '*a lively venue to sample real ales and fine wines accompanied by live music*'. As with larger hotels it also boasts a '*leisure centre*'.

Farley Court (F) (large family hotel)

Situated in the same road as Grasmere, Farley Court is described as an '*independently owned 3 star hotel*' that has been in the '*same family for nearly 50 years*', providing '*the same excellent standards of service*'. Owners Jenny and family claim to offer '*luxury*' combined with personal supervision. Staff are referred to as a '*team*' who are '*courteous*'.

friendly and always willing to help when needed'. As with other larger hotels they boast a swimming pool.

Upmarket East Cliff

Maple Lodge (M) (small hotel)

Maple Lodge is run by Sandra, her husband, their daughter, and her partner. They say a lot *'about us'* on their website, that they *'fell in love'* with the *'inviduality and beauty'* of the hotel, describing it as a *'...traditional English hotel'* offering a *'haven of tranquillity'* in a flourishing tree-lined road only *'three minutes from the cliff top'*. They call themselves a *'team'* offering *'experience, creativity and a combined dedication'*, saying *'We're very friendly and down to earth and simply want you to have the best possible time whilst you're here'* offering that *'we will always do our best to help'*. They allude to the long-standing reputation of the hotel, referring to guests who have been *'patrons...for 30 years'* and offer comments from satisfied guests such as *'first class in all respects'* and *'Lovely stay, great ambience, made to feel welcome'*.

Ainsley (A) (small hotel)

As with Everdene, the website for this hotel creates an immediate impact that the hotel holds a *'Silver Award'*. Sean and Jon describe their road as *'a quiet tree-lined avenue in the attractive and historic East Cliff area'* and their hotel as an *'elegant Edwardian house'*. Guests are *'assured of a warm welcome'* with Sean and Jon describing themselves as *'committed to offering quality facilities'* and *'the opportunity for a peaceful and relaxing stay in homely...surroundings'*. They emphasise features such as the *'cosy ...dining room (that) offers a charm and elegance'* and the *'secluded award winning garden'*.

Xanadu (X) (small hotel)

Run by Anne and Steve, Xanadu is described as *'comfortable'* and *'family run'* and specialising in *'traditional cooking'*. The website advertises its Five Diamond rating, describing the hotel as *'affordable luxury...when only the best will do'*. They describe the bedrooms as *'individual and tastefully decorated'*. The owners say that *'a warm welcome awaits you'*, inviting guests to *'relax in this comfortable and elegant Victorian residence'*. The website also posts examples of thank you letters from guests, referring to *'marvellous hospitality'* and *'feeling so at home...so welcome'*.

Springbourne

Brightsea (BB) (small hotel)

Brightsea is described as being *'noted for its warm welcome, cheerful service and relaxed friendly atmosphere'*, that *'Group booking specials'* are offered to *'stags, hens, golfing, football, rugby, birthdays, girls/boys on tour'*. Celia describes herself as the *'resident proprietor'* who runs the hotel under her *'personal supervision'* and *'who will ensure you have an enjoyable stay'*. The proximity of Brightsea to the station vicinity is reflected in its description of being *'only a three minute walk from the train and coach station'*.

Eastleigh (E) (small hotel)

Situated in a road adjacent to Brightsea, Eastleigh is run by Ellen, though mum Judy is still involved, as is her husband. Hence they describe the hotel as *'family run'*, and that it is *'we believe, one of the best small hotels'* in the area. They emphasise the *'high*

standard of accommodation and cleanliness, describing the hotel as offering *'relaxed and informal surroundings'*. Their hotel is on two sites. One advertises that *'we specialise in single-sex group accommodation'* and is *'near to'* the station and pubs and clubs in the town, whilst the main hotel advertises its *'sunny lounge bar'* and *'very pleasant south facing garden'*.

Kamarillo (K) (small hotel)

Situated in a road close to Brightsea and Eastleigh, Kamarillo is mainly run by Rich, with partner Pete helping out. They say *'We offer you a comfortable and relaxing stay, in a lovingly restored Victorian house with contemporary ambience'* thus selling the new *'contemporary'* image they have created. They draw attention to the convenience of the hotel for the station, the beach and the town centre and emphasise that *'We are proud of our high standards of housekeeping and sense of style'* describing the rooms as having a *'clean and contemporary look that features calm and modern design'*. They add that these are *'beautifully decorated and spacious'* and describe the *'relaxed and informal surroundings'* of the *'spacious dining room'* attended to by *'our in-house chef'*.

Ankara (AA) (small hotel)

Run by Ruby, Ankara is described as *'friendly'* and *'family run'* where Ruby will *'endeavour to make your stay as enjoyable as possible'*. Its convenience to the town centre is highlighted and that *'the railway and coach stations are only ten minutes walk'*. Ruby also boldly advertises that *'stag and hen groups welcome'*. However, reflecting its relative proximity to neighbouring upmarket East Cliff to the south, Ruby describes the area as *'peaceful surroundings overlooking public gardens'* which it is, though is also one road away from the station vicinity.

Chesildene (CC) (small hotel)

Situated in the same road as Ankara, Chesildene too is described as *'conveniently situated'* for the station. Owners Chas and Gail describe it as *'quality rated'* offering *'bed and continental breakfast'*. They too point out that the hotel overlooks public gardens but that it is also a *'ten minute walk to the town centre and nightlife'* reflecting the sort of guests that tend to be attracted to this area.

Popular Boscombe

Violet Court (V) (small hotel)

Donna and Paul say that they will *'ensure you have a pleasant stay'* at their *'family run'* hotel, describing it as a *'recently refurbished Victorian house'* with *'individually decorated'* rooms, including two *'luxury'* rooms. They also mention the *'large comfortable TV lounge'* to *'come back and relax'* and that they have storage for bikes and surfboards.

Solent House (S) (small hotel)

Pam and Martin introduce their website with *'Hi...welcome to the Solent House'* with the hotel itself described as *'a hotel with attitude'*. They describe the aesthetics of the building as a *'large characterful Victorian building...with stained-glass windows'* but with modern amenities. They say the hotel is *'ideal'* for *'lively weekend party groups'* but that families and overseas visitors are also welcome. Pam and Martin say *'we hope our enthusiasm*

will ensure you find us a friendly flexible and informal place to stay. They also indicate their personal values in a statement that they *'try hard to recycle as much as possible'*.

Pebble Beach (P) (small hotel)

The website for Pebble Beach begins with the description that it is a *'contemporary Bournemouth boutique hotel owned and managed by partners Mike and Fay'*, adding that as a *'small family run boutique hotel'* the owners offer *'a warm welcome and exceptional customer service in modern and comfortable surroundings.'* The distinctive character of the hotel is explained further as *'Mixing the chic design of Bournemouth urban living and the laid back and relaxed attitude of life by the beach'* aiming to leave guests *'feeling rejuvenated'*. To reinforce this image, the website continues with details of the refurbished rooms. Mike, Fay and the staff are referred to as the *'team'* with personal informal vignettes included on the website. The success of the hotel is reflected in the many guest comments posted on the site.

Quivern (Q) (small hotel)

Quivern, owned by Derek and Veronica is described as *'warm and friendly'* with *'luxurious accommodation'*. The owners refer to their *'attention to detail'*. Clearly setting out their target market, the website states that they *'specialise'* in accommodation for *'couples and families'*. They promise to *'endeavour to help you have a truly wonderful holiday'* in their *'most relaxing and stylish accommodation'* where *'every room has its own charm and style'*.

Upmarket Boscombe

Tipton (T) (large family hotel)

Denise and her family run Tipton, describing it as *'family owned'* and that they have *'offered its guests a personal professional and friendly hotel and dining experience for over 25 years'*. The location is described as *'peaceful'* Boscombe Manor (locally perceived as an upmarket area), close to the cliff top. As a large hotel Tipton advertises amenities such as the *'award winning restaurant'* and *'private functions'*.

Beechlands (B) (small hotel)

Sheila now runs Beechlands on her own after partner Tom left the business. Its location is described as *'situated in a delightful position...only a short walk to the beach'*. The hotel is described as presented in a *'country style'* and is *'spacious and inviting with a friendly and informal atmosphere'* and that *'a warm welcome awaits you.'* Specifically Sheila emphasises that *'All bedrooms are to a high standard'* and draws attention to the *'spacious lounge'* and *'south facing garden'*.

Southbourne

Zealands (Z) (small hotel)

Heather and Ken describe Zealands as a *'small family run hotel offering personal attention and friendly service in comfortable surroundings'*. In particular they state that they are *'proud of our good home cooking'*. Located in a *'quiet tree-lined road'*, Zealands is described as only three minutes walk from the cliff top. The website also refers to the four-diamond guesthouse rating and rooms are described as *'tastefully decorated'*.

Royden Court (R) (small hotel)

Owned by Natalie and Max, Royden Court is situated in the same road as Zealands, and is described as *'a lovely 100-year old character building'*. They emphasise its proximity to the *'beautiful cliff tops'* and describe the hotel as having a *'spacious yet homely feel to it'* where the owners *'assure you that we will do everything we can to make your stay very happy and comfortable'*. They mention that having lived in the area for over 30 years they can *'answer most questions you might have'*. The owners do not provide guests' comments but report that *'many'* guests have commented on *'the relaxed and friendly atmosphere'* and note that *'one of the most popular remarks is "a home from home"'* which they add that they strive to achieve. They finish by saying they try to make the stay *'as relaxing and enjoyable as you would wish for'*.

Haydon Lodge (H) (small hotel)

Bert and Angela describe Haydon Lodge as *'a charming small hotel'* situated in a *'lovely peaceful location'* in a *'quiet tree-lined road'* (the same road as for Zealands and Royden Court), in *'lovely Southbourne'*, noting that they are only *'300 metres from a beautiful award winning sandy beach'*. They also say *'we are proud to have a 4 Diamond and Silver Award Rating'* explaining that this reflects their *'excellent standards'* and the *'warm friendly atmosphere'*. Bert and Angela allude to their reputation by advertising that *'many guests return regularly'*, and offer quotes from satisfied guests, such as *'Lovely – home from home'* and *'Nothing was too much trouble'*.

Please refer to the next seven pages for photos of areas surrounding these hotels.

SAMPLING AND ACCESS

Using the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) definition of a 'small hotel' mentioned earlier, I only researched small hotels that *called* themselves a 'hotel', though in practice hoteliers did not distinguish between a 'small hotel' and a 'guest house'. For the purposes of my study I interpreted 'large hotel' to be one that was larger in size and operation than the WTO description of a small hotel. I further interpreted 'large family' hotels as being privately owned and a 'large corporate' hotel to mean one that is owned by a multinational corporation. My sample constituted 21 small hotels, 5 large family hotels and 1 large corporate hotel, totalling 27 hotels in all. I gave each hotel and each research participant a pseudonym, to protect their anonymity and maintain confidentiality.

Using non-probability sampling as appropriate to the small-scale research I conducted, I principally employed the snowballing technique to identify my sample of owners of small and large hotels. As Arber in Gilbert (2001: 63) observes, this technique involves personal recommendations 'that vouch for the legitimacy of the researcher' and is useful 'when the potential subjects of the research are likely to be sceptical of the researcher's intentions'. Though such scepticism was not really an issue in my study, certainly there was an element of me being 'an unknown' to the hoteliers I wanted to interview, and hence the recommendation of other hoteliers helped endorse my credibility. Snowballing was also appropriate for my intended sample since, as Arber also points out, it can only be used 'when the target sample members are involved in some kind of network with others who share the characteristic of interest', which was the case for the small hotel owners I studied since they all knew each other through the local trade association, Bournemouth Area Hospitality Association (BAHA). However, as Arber adds, this is both a strength and weakness of the technique, an advantage being that it can reveal a network of potential contacts, but a possible drawback being that it only includes those within a connected network and thus can include an element of bias. I have recognised this as a limitation of my study, discussed in Concluding Thoughts, Chapter 10.

I began this research with no contacts in the industry so to start the process of gaining physical access to a sample of hotels I contacted the owner of a large family hotel that was featured in the local newspaper, expressing my interest in this article. I hoped that an interview with her would generate data I could use in my research, and also provide further contacts. Gaining access to this first hotel, Yarmouth, took a few attempts as the owner worked part-time and her receptionist was an excellent gatekeeper! Indeed, even when I did get to speak to the owner by phone, I could still detect a note of caution in her voice. However, she agreed to the interview, which in the event lasted two hours, including a 'grand tour' of the hotel! Owner Vera was more than happy to give me the names of owners of three more large family hotels in the town and also suggested I contact BAHA to meet owners of small hotels. I used her advice to secure my first interview with a small hotel owner, and from then further contacts emerged through a snowballing approach. The only exception to this was the large corporate hotel that I contacted direct and where the Duty Manager was happy to talk to me.

My rationale for including a few large hotels in my sample was to provide another 'level' of data that would give interesting comparisons of the phenomena I was investigating, in the large hotel setting. For example, a potential difference between large and small hotels that could impact on the data in each setting could be that in large hotels owners do not always live on the premises whilst they tend to do so in the small hotel setting. Living

within one's business can arguably impact on emotionalities surrounding the host-guest relationship where the hotel is also the home (after Lynch 2005 for example). The large hotels I chose also captured different cultures of ownership, the family-owned enterprises shaped by the immediate presence of the owners compared to the cultural identity of the corporate hotel derived from its parent company. I also considered that data from the large hotel environment was relevant to my research questions given the wealth of evidence of emotion management in corporate hospitality settings, often manifested as emotional labour (for example Lashley 2001, Ritzer 2004). Whilst my study did not focus on this phenomenon *per se*, comparing how emotion management is understood and manifested in large and small hotel settings would nonetheless enhance my understanding of it.

Please refer to the Sampling Diagram on the next page for an overview of my sampling process, and the subsequent table detailing the hotels in my sample and the research participants I interviewed.

Hotels and Research Participants

Hotel	Interview Transcript Code	Research Participant
Yarmouth	Y	Vera
Everdene	EE	Hazel
Woodley	W	Terry
Jaydon	J	Shirley and Phil
Chinedale	C	Rebecca
Newmount	N	Marion
Dalebourne	D	Mark
Durley Dunes	DD	Simon
Grasmere	G	Mary
Farley Court	F	Jenny
Maple Lodge	M	Sandra
Ainsley	A	Sean and Jon
Xanadu	X	Anne
Brightsea	BB	Celia
Eastleigh	E	Judy and Ellen
Kamarillo	K	Rich
Ankara	AA	Ruby
Chesildene	CC	Chas and Gail
Violet Court	V	Donna
Solent House	S	Pam
Pebble Beach	P	Mike
Quivern	Q	Derek
Tipton	T	Denise
Beechlands	B	Sheila
Zealands	Z	Heather
Royden Court	R	Natalie and Max
Haydon Lodge	H	Bert

DATA COLLECTION

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

I chose to use one method for collecting my data in this study, the non-standardised interview, and within this genre, a semi-structured format. I also refer to these as ‘guided conversations’ (Rubin and Rubin, 1995) as this description befits the way I conducted the interviews in my particular research setting. I did not want my participants to be ‘put off’ by the idea of being ‘interviewed’ so instead tended to refer to ‘having a chat’, thus facilitating the data collection process by putting them at their ease. Indeed, Rubin and Rubin (1995: 28-29) refer to interviewees as ‘conversational partners’, which is perhaps more appropriate terminology for my study. I rejected the option of using unstructured interviews since my study was not entirely emergent in nature. Hence I needed some structure to my data collection to support the research questions I had formulated. I balanced this with a flexible questioning approach to allow the alternative realities I sought from participants to emerge. However, using a semi-structured approach presented me

with the challenge of encouraging respondents to express their thoughts and feelings whilst having an eye to the questions I wanted to explore. I met this by using open questions and sensitive and tactful facilitation of the conversations. Thus my participants could talk freely but within a loosely structured question framework, informed by my Literature Review. Participants' relative free expression of their realities in this way would have been restricted by more constraining research tools such as closed questionnaires.

My choice of the semi-structured interview was also consistent with using narrative inquiry, since by encouraging dialogue between researcher and participant, the participant has the opportunity to convey his or her thoughts and feelings through stories that create a narrative account. As Sandelands and Boudens argue (2000:58), 'With stories people can grab hold of feelings that would be otherwise inexpressible and unmemorable...' and these stories can then constitute elements of the participants' narrative. Also, using critical event questions, I could ask interviewees about '...examples and stories that reveal how people understand their world' and 'to describe a typical day or ordinary occurrence' (Rubin and Rubin, 1995:28).

Apart from the first interview in a small hotel, all interviews were tape-recorded with the permission of research participants. I did not attempt to tape-record the first small hotel encounter as I was finding my way as to how easy it would be to get participants to talk about the issues I wanted to explore. Cognisant of the potential sensitivity of discussing 'emotion' aspects of their work experiences and aware that I was 'learning' how I might handle this, I felt it better not to broach using the recorder in this first instance. Hence in a sense the first small hotel interview also constituted a pilot interview to help me assess whether the approach I was adopting was appropriate. In the event, the interview was effective and needed no change in approach for subsequent interviews. In lieu of tape-recording, I took notes as a record of this first interview, recording particular quotes that I found illuminating. In addition to tape recording subsequent interviews, I noted particular verbal and non-verbal emotion expressions, such as laughter or facial expressions of disgust. All recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim with the use of emphasis such as tone of voice or exclamation being noted.

Using one data collection method could be criticised for not taking account of the principles and potential benefits of employing multi-methods. However, I justify this choice on the grounds that it entirely suited the acquisition of in-depth rich qualitative data in my particular research settings. Thus it was not only methodologically appropriate but was the most practically feasible method to interview busy hotel owners.

INTERVIEW SEQUENCE

I conducted my interviews in three phases between March 2004 and March 2007, generally in the 'quiet' months of the autumn (October/November) and spring (February/March) since at these times of year hoteliers had more time to talk with me. Phase 1 comprised an interview with a large family-owned hotel, together with 5 interviews in 4 small hotels (one involving a return visit). Phase 2 involved interviews in a further 9 small hotels. Phase 3 comprised interviews in a further 8 small hotels and return visits to 4 from Phase 2, together with 4 large family hotels and 1 large corporate hotel. Thus in total, across the three phases, I investigated 27 hotels, conducting 26 interviews in small hotels and 6 in larger hotels, bringing the total number of interviews to 32.

Chronology of Interviews

Dates	Phase of Data Collection	Type of Hotel	Hotel Name
March 2004 – November 2005	Phase 1	Large Family Small Small Small Small Small	Yarmouth Zealands (1) Xanadu Violet Court Woodley Zealands (2)
March 2006	Phase 2	Small Small Small Small Small Small Small Small Small	Quivern Solent House Pebble Beach(1) Newmount Kamarillo (1) Jaydon (1) Haydon Lodge Royden Court(1) Maple Lodge
November 2006 – March 2007	Phase 3	Small Small Small Small Small Small Small Small Small Small Small Small Small Small Large Family Large Family Large Family Large Family Large Corporate	Pebble Beach(2) Kamarillo(2) Jaydon (2) Royden Court(2) Eastleigh Ankara Ainsley Brightsea Chesildene Everdene Chinedale Beechlands Tipton Dalebourne Grasmere Farley Court Durley Dunes

MANAGING RELATIONSHIPS WITH RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

A challenge I faced in conducting these interviews was hoteliers being able to make time to talk to me, since running a hotel can be unpredictable and demanding, so owners might not be able to afford me a reasonable amount of uninterrupted time for an in-depth conversation. I dealt with this by approaching hoteliers in the quiet periods of the year. Also, when I contacted hoteliers, I guaranteed that the conversation would last no more than 45 minutes and to which I strictly adhered. If, as often happened, the hotelier wanted

to prolong the conversation and /or to 'show me around' I judged what was a reasonable additional time to stay. On average, the total length of stay was between an hour and an hour and a half. At the start of each interview I asked permission to tape-record the interview explaining that it was for my research purposes only. No-one refused and even the more reluctant talkers seem to ignore it after a few minutes.

When making contact with hoteliers I was also aware that they did not 'know' me and might therefore be sceptical about what I wanted, perhaps wondering 'What's in this for me?' Hence I explained in this first call what I was doing and why, how long the conversation would last, and that I would totally fit in with their availability. Another issue was that, as my sample evolved through a snowballing approach, inevitably I was given the names of hoteliers to approach by other hoteliers. I struggled with the issue of whether or not to reveal my 'source' since this could signal breach of confidentiality and anonymity. However, my referees insisted I did this and new contacts seemed to expect it. This was unsurprising, since as members of BAHA they all tended to network and talk to one another. This hence seemed the most 'natural' approach to use and worked well, whereas if I had created 'artificial' anonymity between them this would have been somewhat 'false'. Thus I judged the potential drawbacks were outweighed by the 'naturalness' of the approach, and which also accrued the benefit of enhancing my credibility with new contacts. However, in all cases I did not disclose any data provided between participants so that confidentiality was maintained at that level.

A third challenge I faced in conducting my interviews was how the personality of the hotel owner might shape the interview. Some might be garrulous and eager to give their 'accounts', whilst others might be shy and unused to talking about themselves. With the first type I was mindful of letting them express their own realities whilst gently steering the conversation to cover questions I wished to explore. So for example, if an hotelier was preoccupied with telling me about VAT or his IT booking system, I empathised with his views but found an opportunity to subtly return to talking about relating to and dealing with guests. This created openings for the hotelier to identify and discuss emotionalities surrounding interactions with guests if he wished to do so, whilst not 'pushing' him toward this. Hence I sometimes used critical event questions to trigger this line of conversation. Through this approach I felt I allowed my participants to present their own realities whilst capturing data that could address my research questions. For the more reluctant interviewee my challenge was to find ways to get them to 'open up', which I generally managed to do, again using critical event questions, but also encouraging personal accounts with which they would be more familiar and 'comfortable'.

A fourth challenge was that some hoteliers might be reluctant to discuss how they felt about their relationships with guests, reflecting the ontological and epistemological challenges of 'knowing' and expressing emotion. As social actors hoteliers may not be aware of emotions that informed their interactions with guests, where these might derive from intrapsychic sources. Equally they may not wish to recognise and articulate emotion that they *could* identify, perhaps considering it 'private' or that to reveal such emotion risked 'exposure'. This might be particularly so where the emotions were not 'pleasant' ones, so hoteliers might readily say how 'great' guests are and how 'wonderful' is the job, but shy away from talking about guests who caused them 'pain', 'worry', 'anger' or 'frustration'. My task as the researcher was to find ways to 'permit' hoteliers to explore such issues in a 'safe' manner. So for example I empathised with their accounts and gently explored the issues further if they wished to do so. However, in doing this I was aware of the effect that recalling such events might have, with some hoteliers for example being visibly angry disgusted or upset at the memory of recalling such instances. I played such situations very carefully, allowing respondents to continue if they wished to, or

moving subtly on to other topics. However, as will be clear from my Data Analysis (Chapters 6-8) some accounts were so meaningful to participants that they returned to them time and again, to reveal the emotion imbued within the experience. Finally, after every interview I wrote a letter of thanks to the hotelier, and if I conducted subsequent interviews I took a small gift to show my appreciation for the additional time they had given me (though this was always given willingly). I felt this was an appropriate gesture to demonstrate my appreciation to people who had helped me with my research but with no obvious direct benefit to themselves. Indirectly they may have found it valuable to reflect on their businesses, which some did indeed indicate, but for the most part the beneficiary was myself. I did not take that lightly. After second interviews, I again wrote a letter of thanks.

QUESTION FRAMEWORK

A challenge I faced in putting questions to my interviewees was to find ways of encouraging them to identify emotion and how they managed it in the host-guest relationship, and to facilitate expression of their views and experiences. Here I was mindful of Fineman's advice (2003: 23) that to do this we need to know something about '(a) the personal background of the individual, (b) the meaning of situations to that individual, and (c) the cultural and organizational context that shapes the way emotion is expressed and controlled'. So for example I initially encouraged participants to tell me how they had come to run a hotel, what they wanted from it, what they felt guests expected from them, and how they found the experience. However, in my earlier interviews in Phases 1 and 2, I probably dwelt on this too much, conscious of wanting respondents to 'feel 'comfortable' by talking about areas with which they were 'familiar' before exploring areas that particularly interested me (emotion management and the host-guest relationship). I therefore changed my approach in Phase 3 to focus more quickly on my interest areas, which worked well despite my earlier reservations about the difficulty respondents might have in identifying and expressing emotion. Hoteliers generally liked to talk about their interactions with guests – whether good or bad. Another approach I used was that for second interviews, I reviewed the data I had collected in the first interview to identify particular issues I might explore further. So for example, Heather at Zealands had been concerned about having time to herself and coping with the workload during the season, so I revisited these areas with her.

To inform my question framework, I manually analysed data after each Phase. Hence from manual analysis of Phase 1 data using open coding, I grouped data into categories that seemed to emerge, such as hoteliers' roles, their interpretations and experiences of hospitality work, and the effect of the business on their lifestyles. Whilst retaining these as question areas for Phase 2, I also developed my question framework to probe some areas further, such as the nature of the host-guest relationship. However I found that the 45-minute time limit I had imposed on my interviews, and for good reason, gave insufficient time to explore the host-guest relationship in enough depth. Hence after analysing Phase 2 data I felt I needed to focus less on 'contextual' issues (such as the type of hospitality provided, the type of clientele, and hosts' motivations) and move more quickly in the interview to explore the nature of the host-guest relationship, though inevitably the contextual issues continued to play a part in hoteliers' accounts. Thus I amended my question framework for Phase 3 in this light. This strategy worked well, enabling me to capture more in-depth data of emotion management and the host-guest relationship in Phase 3. However, when I later analysed the data from all three Phases, employing a narrative rather than coding lens, I found that I had in fact captured similarly rich data in Phases 1 and 2, though elicited through a different questioning framework.

DATA ANALYSIS

DATA ANALYSIS IN CONTEXT

Since qualitative data analysis ‘takes place continuously throughout the study’ (Lindlof, 1995 in Collis and Hussey, 2003:261) analysis of my data was not an isolated activity, but took place iteratively with my data collection and stretched beyond data management and presentation to theorising from the data toward future research ideas. Hence, the fruits of the process are reflected in my Data Analysis Chapters, (6-8), my Discussion Chapter, (9) and Concluding Thoughts, (10).

I recognised that analysing my qualitative data involved comprehending, synthesising, theorising and recontextualising the data (Collis and Hussey, 2003; Morse, 1994). However, I appreciated that this presented various challenges. First, as several writers acknowledge, there is no standard approach to doing this (for example Bryman and Bell, 2007; Morse, 1994), one reason being that the data themselves tend to be non-standardised and complex (Saunders, 2009: 485). The data hence require significant reduction and structuring to be meaningfully analysed, whilst abstraction from them must be thorough (Dey, 1993; Robson, 2002), to avoid a superficial impressionistic view of the data (Saunders *et al*, op.cit.) However, as Rubin and Rubin (1995) argue, it is important to ensure the authenticity, accuracy, and quality of the raw data are maintained, which I addressed throughout the analytic process.

I therefore interpreted the analytic process as balancing three issues. First I had to maintain the nature and quality of my data by providing ‘thick’ descriptions that gave the depth, detail, richness and holism I sought to capture. Second, I needed to show the meanings that my participants had attached to the data they provided and how they connected these to their own social worlds. Third I had to be able to sort the data into themes and determine the pattern that emerged from these, to then evaluate those themes to determine a conceptual framework that captured a credible explanation of my findings (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 10).

DATA PRESENTATION

To prepare my data for analysis I followed the advice of Saunders *et al* (2009:485-486) and transcribed each tape-recorded interview verbatim, where transcribing means raw data are ‘reproduced as a written (word-processed) account using the actual words’. In doing so I was not only interested in what research participants said but the way they said it, so I sought to ‘give an indication of the tone in which it was said’ and ‘participants’ non-verbal communication’ such as a grimace of disgust. I also made sure the written record was ‘linked to the contextual information of the interview’ by drawing on my impressions of the hotel visits. I transcribed each tape to include the full emphasis of intonation, underlining words and phrases where emphasis was used by a stronger tone of voice for example. I also recorded question marks and exclamation marks where I felt these accurately reflected the manner in which data were expressed. I also employed ‘speaker identifiers’ by using bold type for my own voice and normal type for the participant who, for the most part, was one hotelier. Concerned to give my participants ‘voice’ and

'signature' in their narratives, I not only recorded what they said verbatim, but italicised their contributions and indented major quotations in my Data Analysis discussions (Chapters 6-8), and referenced these from my transcripts. Where a couple talked to me, I distinguished between their different voices in the transcript, using their initials. Also, as explained under Sampling, and in line with advice from Saunders *et al* (2009:486), my participants' identities were 'suitably anonymised' by giving each participant a pseudonym (Angela, Rich and so on) and similarly each hotel a pseudonym, such as Chesildene and Kamarillo.

Saunders *et al* (2009: 485) suggest that 'some researchers send a copy of the transcript to the participant for final checking'. Whilst recognising the possible benefits of doing this to enhance the validity of the data, I rejected this in my own study to preserve the level of goodwill I had established with my participants. Additionally, this approach is not without its concerns. As Saunders *et al* (2009: 485) further point out, some interviewees when faced with a transcript may wish to correct the language used, not being used to seeing their 'voice' in print. For my research this could have diluted the authenticity of the data I sought to preserve.

DATA ANALYSIS ACTIVITIES

Identifying Emotion

A key task I faced in my analysis was to be clear about identifying 'emotion' in the data, being careful not to 'read into' data and identify emotion everywhere. Here, I considered the language participants used that indicated emotion (such as 'I felt annoyed') together with implied emotion in their accounts (such as descriptions depicting disgust in dealing with 'dirty work'). I also attended to their reference to behaviours that suggested emotion (such as nudging a guest's chair because the host did not like the guest). Additionally, I drew on my own observations in the interviews, of participants' verbal expressions of emotion such as an indignant tone of voice, emphasis placed on the language used, and non-verbal gestures such as facial expressions of disdain when talking about 'undesirable' guests. I was also careful to delineate the meanings that participants themselves attached to their experiences and the meanings I inferred from their accounts, thus being mindful of different levels of interpretation, participants' and my own.

In attending to emotion in this way I drew on the insights of other writers. Gibbs (2002:184-5) for example refers to analysing stories in terms of 'the language used, the stylistic conventions, and the metaphors' and cites Zilber as referring to linguistic features that can identify the emotional content of narrative. Examples given by Gibbs that I found useful are the use of the second and third person to express difficult issues, breaking of chronological flow that could indicate discussion of difficult issues, repetition that could indicate issues holding emotional significance for the narrator, and detailed description used to articulate difficult emotions. Gabriel's (2000: 135) insights were also helpful here, that 'Stories are emotionally and symbolically charged narratives. They do not present information or facts about "events", but they enrich, enhance, and infuse facts with meaning' adding that '...this is both their strength and their potential weakness. Stories will often compromise accuracy in the interest of poetic effect...they may focus on the incidental details'. Gabriel concludes that '...the truth of a story lies not in its accuracy but in its meaning'. Finally, I found Fineman's (2000:13) 'epistemological framing' for researching emotion invaluable guidance to help me constantly check my justification that what I was identifying and analysing was emotion. His preferences here, which I found to be invaluable reminders, are that,

- Expressed emotions and private feelings do not necessarily correlate, nor are they always known to the individual
- Emotion and feeling are often negotiative and changing, subject to interpersonal, group and political influence
- History matters – individuals, groups and organizations have “memories”, emotional backcloths that shape the “what” and “how” of present feeling and emotional expression
- Many emotional experiences will be fleeting, inchoate, even confused. We cannot always identify discrete emotions and attach them to specific objects and circumstances
- Emotional worlds often blur the distinction between the “public” and the “private”, “work” and “home”; the domains can interact
- Situations matter – different social/organizational contexts encode different rule of feelings and emotional display
- Wider social structures (economic, market, material) frame our emotional experiences, favouring the production and reproduction of certain feeling and emotions

Coding

As Bryman and Bell (2003) advise, coding helps to identify the significance of events and issues. I therefore used manual open coding of my transcripts during data collection, to identify what seemed to be significant issues for my participants. I judged what constituted ‘codes’ by reference to my interpretation of the literature and my research questions. However, in these early stages I did not ‘rule anything out’ as the potential relevance of some issues to my research questions was not immediately apparent, though the issues themselves were clearly significant to participants. However, as the analytic process proceeded, I revised the status of these ‘codes’. So for example, whilst financial pressures and hotel values may not have seemed central to my research questions, they evolved to become ‘Emotionalities of the Host-Guest Relationship Context’, the analytic theme for Chapter 6.

Categorising

After coding, my next task in the data collection process was to collate ‘chunks’ of data that appeared to have similar meanings. So for example where hoteliers attributed different descriptors to being a hotelier, such as ‘friendly’, ‘professional’, ‘facilitator’, I grouped these as ‘roles’. I termed these ‘chunks’ of data, ‘categories’. Again, I did this manually.

Developing Relationships between Categories

In this next task I continually cross-referenced categories that seemed to relate to others to establish possible relationships occurring in my data. This stage was necessarily iterative with the previous stages, since as Saunders *et al* (2009: 495) point out, searching for ‘key themes and patterns or relationships in your rearranged data...may lead you to revise your categories’ I conducted this activity ‘intuitively’ during the data collection process.

NVivo

To build on the manual analysis and intuitive reading of my data that I have explained here, I then applied a more ‘formal’ and rigorous process of coding, categorising and

developing themes for all my data, using the computer software NVivo. My rationale here was twofold; to re-check my early reading of the data, and to bring the necessary academic rigour to the process of 'coding' to justify any inferences I drew as being firmly grounded in the data. NVivo was particularly useful in helping me record, organise and re-organise my open codes and categories. Printouts of final categories also helped to determine possible relationships between categories, and provided a basis for developing my key analytic themes. However, in using this software I was mindful of its disadvantages to which Maylor and Blackmon (2005: 347) refer.

In particular I found the process time consuming. However, the printouts were very useful in helping me to see the overall 'shape' of my data. Also, whilst I did not use a quantifiable approach to assess code frequency, I did use this as an indicator of relationship trends, but which I then cross checked by interrogating my data through later use of narrative analysis. NVivo was certainly a useful tool for continually reviewing and revising open codes and categories, and for producing presentations of these to help with 'theorising' as I went along, as befits the iterative nature of qualitative data analysis. It was also easy to generate codes without worrying about the volume, and equally feasible to discard those I considered redundant, points to which Bryman and Bell allude (2007: 594).

The coding process I used mirrored the phases of my data collection, in the sense that I handled the data in the same order in which they had been acquired. Thus:

- I identified 54 'free' codes for Phase 1 data
- I then organised these into 14 categories which I recorded as trees, allocating free nodes to each tree as I felt appropriate, drawing on my knowledge of the literature and my 'reading' of my data. These categories (trees) tended to constitute issues such as hosts' perceptions about the business, their interactions with guests, hosts' behaviours, guest types and guest behaviours.
- I used a node profile of these trees and nodes, to analyse Phase 2 data. Any new codes that emerged were added to appropriate trees.
- I continued using the same discipline to analyse Phase 3 data, again adding new codes (as nodes) where appropriate and assigning these to existing trees.
- I reviewed the final node profile to check for frequency of occurrence of individual nodes and possible overlap/ duplication of nodes. From this I produced a revised list of 52 principal categories that I recorded as new trees. I then re-allocated the free nodes to my new trees, as I felt appropriate, in the light of 'seeing' all the data. I recorded the level of incidence of each tree (i.e. category) from the node profile, to give me a sense of the relative significance of each category within my data. I felt this added rigour to the process, helping to ensure that any inferences I drew were firmly grounded in the data and could be justified as significant to it.
- I then grouped my 52 trees under three broad headings (that I called super-categories); 'host' (31), 'guest' (17), and 'host/guest interface' (4), where this last group referred to issues that seemed to apply to both host and guest. However I identified areas of overlap within these and hence rationalised these further to 'host' (30), 'guest' (6), and 'host/guest interface' (3).

- From this analysis I identified four embryonic ‘themes ‘ that I felt best captured and reflected the emotionalities of the host-guest relationship that my research participants had revealed through the data.
- I then assigned the 52 free codes to these four themes to identify possible content for each theme, this content forming the basis for possible sub-themes. These were,
 - a. What are owners trying to achieve?
 - b. How do owners seek to achieve this?
 - c. What do owners have to do to run their hotels as desired?
 - d. How do owners deal with problems?

I then built on this ‘coding’ process by interrogating all my transcripts for content that aligned with the interim framework of the themes depicted here. This involved reading and re-reading my transcripts using narrative analysis, to compare and contrast different narratives against the issues I had identified through the coding process. Here I concurred with Saunders *et al* (2009: 497) that my use of narrative analysis complemented the coding process by capturing the holism of the data.

Narrative analysis

Drawing on Bruner and Polkinghorne in Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008:217) I suggest I used both ‘analysis of narratives’ and ‘narrative analysis’ where the former uses narrative as a ‘form of representation’ and the latter focuses on ‘narrative’ as a mode of analysis to interpret and represent participants’ experiences. To analyse my narratives, I drew on my understanding of narrative functions which Mishler and Elliott (in Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008:218) suggest are language, meaning and structure, and interactional content. Here, ‘meaning’ refers to the content of the narrative (what happened, to whom, when and how), structure about how it was put together (its elements and plot), and interactional context to ‘the interactive and contextual nature of narratives’. To analyse meaning I drew on two approaches suggested by Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008), that is identifying the themes first and then interrogating my narratives in relation to these, where the themes were derived from my coding process, but also identifying themes within the narratives. An example of the latter was how ‘dirty work’ and ‘risky work’ emerged as significant through my narrative analysis but had not been highlighted in the coding process. Hence as a consequence of using narrative analysis, I revised my earlier themes to better reflect the shape of my data. Thus, the three analytic themes that emerged as foci for my Data Analysis Chapters (6-8) were:

- Emotionalities of the host-guest relationship context
- Emotion management in construction of the host-guest relationship
- Emotion management in negotiation of the host-guest relationship

In terms of ‘structure’ I considered the ‘types’ of narrative I encountered, such as ‘comic’ or ‘tragic’ (after Reissman, 1993 for example). Additionally, in terms of ‘interactional context’, I captured the social and cultural contexts in which the narratives were produced, for example the different cultures of small, large family, and large corporate, hotels.

Interpreting Narrative

To operationalise the theoretical and philosophical principles of narrative research, I distinguished between 'stories' and 'narrative' in my analysis.

Identifying 'Stories'

Drawing on for example, Gibbs (2002:174) and Fineman (2003:17), I recognised that stories can be rhetorical devices to represent and contextualise experiences, and as such could often be shaped for a particular audience, place and time, with characters other than the storyteller. Also, as Fineman notes, 'They are also mobile and mutable. We often adjust and embellish the narrative of our story' (according to whom we are talking) so that 'the story is not a measure of objective truth of an event, but is a fine indicator of our feelings and how we wish to present them'. I found that this description applied to stories that hotel owners related to me, describing their encounters with guests. The stories themselves often employed narrative in the telling and were also situated with a wider narrative. I also identified different 'types' of story, as described by Fineman (2003:17), such as the comic story where a hotelier expressed amusement at finding a naked man in the shower, owners telling of their pride in being able to help guests in trouble, and 'acts of kindness' where hoteliers recalled philanthropic gestures they had made toward guests.

However, in interpreting 'stories' I also drew on Gabriel (2000:19) and Sandelands and Boudens (2000:60) to distinguish between 'facts' and 'meaning', particularly with regard to 'unpacking' the frequently haphazard manner in which some participants relayed their 'accounts'. I also found the idea that '...the storytellers shape their identities such as heroes...heroic survivors...victims, or...bystanders' (Gabriel, 2000:41) to be valuable in interpreting the meaning that stories held for participants in my study and how they located themselves in relation to those stories. Finally, I took account of Gabriel's point that 'It is not possible to analyse and bring to light every emotional nuance present in a story' and that 'the same story may evoke different emotions in different listeners'. Here, I ensured that I let the data 'speak for themselves' at one level, that is, in the way I presented them in my Data Analysis chapters, before bringing my own interpretations to them in the Discussion. I also found Gabriel's examples of the emotional content of stories valuable and recognised many of these in my own data, such as pride, anger, sadness, satisfaction, approval, frustration, worry, disappointment, mockery, anxiety, fun, and guilt.

Identifying Narrative

As already noted, I recognised that 'narrative' could provide both the content and context of a story. Hence as Fineman (2006:688-689) suggests, narrative concerns how we '...recount and connect our experiences in plots, stories, myths and legends' and that one role of narrative is to communicate emotion through sharing the written and spoken word. I could recognise that my participants articulated emotion in their narratives and that they 'worked over' their emotions in the accounts they gave.

To help me throughout this process, I also found the following frameworks provided useful guidelines; Lieblich *et al*'s (1998) reference to working with different 'voices' and their 'holistic-content' perspective, and Labov's (1972, 1982) and Coffey and Atkinson's (1996) structural elements. I also drew on Fineman's (2005:10) explanation of how psychoanalytic and social constructionist readings of emotion narrative can elicit different interpretations, which I understood to mean that a psychoanalytic reading focuses on

'encoded...hidden meaning' and a social constructionist perspective, whilst recognising individual emotion, also views it as constituting social interactions. However, I also took Fineman's advice that 'To an extent it is possible to work both paradigms in any single investigation' since this aligned with my ontological interpretation of emotion. However Fineman also draws attention to wider influences at play such as the role of 'emotional stakeholders' in negotiating emotion as a 'social commodity' through their own 'preferences and power'. I recognised this too in the way emotion was managed in the host-guest relationship and the relative power between both parties.

Conceptualisation

Finally, to develop a conceptualisation of my findings, I identified five meta-themes that emerged from and traversed the three foci of my Data Analysis Chapters. These five 'meta' themes were,

- Host-Guest Matching
- Host-Guest Relationship
- Host Roles
- Dirty Work and Risky Work
- Work-Life Balance

In my discussion of these in Chapter 9, I have not only made sense of my findings in relation to the literature that informed my study, but have taken that theoretical underpinning further by considering how the realities I uncovered could be better understood. For example, I suggested that a fifth emotion management role would complement Bolton's (2005) typology of the four strategies that I had used in interpreting my data.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In conclusion, this chapter has detailed the thinking behind my research, my research design and how I have implemented that. As already mentioned, as with any study there are limitations, and these have been discussed in Chapter 10, Concluding Thoughts.

Chapter 6

'EMOTIONALITIES' OF THE HOST-GUEST RELATIONSHIP CONTEXT

In this chapter I will explore the following four themes that have emerged from my data; hosts' feelings about hotel ownership, contextual factors that affect working in the business, hosts' values, and hosts' feelings toward the 'home' in the context of the business.

HOSTS' FEELINGS ABOUT HOTEL OWNERSHIP

Within this theme, I identified three sub-themes as key areas for discussion; hosts' motives for owning a hotel, what they said about how they felt prior to ownership, and how they felt about the subsequent experience.

MOTIVES FOR HOTEL OWNERSHIP

Motives for taking on a small hotel business are likely to contribute to hosts' feelings about hotel ownership, hence I will consider this first. Reflecting discussions in Chapter 4 of the Literature Review I was not surprised to find a range of motives amongst the owners of the small hotels I investigated.

Business and Lifestyle

For some, it was not just about having a business, but about facilitating a choice of lifestyle too, as the following comments reveal.

Rich at Kamarillo:

'The business isn't everything...you've also got a life as well and we...took this on for a better way of life really' (K2, 4)

Sean at Ainsley:

'It gives us a nice lifestyle and that's what we want' (A, 9)

Adding a different perspective, Donna at Violet Court:

'It was just really looking at...what can we do that will give us a better way of life and not have the pressures that other people put on...you only put your own pressure on' (V, 10)

Pam at Solent House emphasised how she and her husband deliberately chose to run their hotel as '*they want to*', not just to make money.

'We do try to make sure people enjoy themselves...because we want to. It's not part of "we ought to do that because we're a hotelier,"' and comparing herself to other hotels that charge for 'extras' 'I suppose they see every bit of running a hotel as a money making venture and we don't' (S, 7; S, 9)

Shirley and Phil at Jaydon and Natalie and Max at Royden Court implied that 'lifestyle' was a motive for embarking on hotel ownership, with both couples doing so at a time of

change in their personal lives. Shirley and Phil were 'delaying' retirement, whilst Natalie and Max had just got married and had decided to start a business together.

Natalie: *'I really just want it to be really successful...I just think of this as our future and how I enjoy it'* (R1, 1)

Phil: *'We said ten years, didn't we? But we like it, don't we? I mean five years down the line we might fall out of love with it, but until then we're going to stay here and see how it goes'* (J2, 2)

However, 'lifestyle choice' was most starkly illustrated in the following example, where the hotel 'business' hardly impinged on any commercial imperative. Chas at Chesildene suggested that this neighbouring hotelier did not run a 'business' at all, that it entirely constituted a lifestyle choice.

'Phillippa next door runs a vegetarian bed and breakfast... "No this, no that". I don't know who she does take! I don't believe she's running a business...I'll tell you what the right word is, it's a lifestyle business' (CC, 9)

Business Focus

However other hoteliers clearly implied business motives. Both Celia at Brightsea and Chas at Chesildene gave the impression that they believed running a hotel would be fairly straightforward, with Chas endorsing his commercial interest through his reference to 'price'.

Celia, that the business was advertised to her as: *"Guests in the summer, students in the winter" So we thought "Oh OK then, that's going to be a doddle"* (BB, 2)

And Chas: *'I just thought that...buying this place would be...a semi-retired exercise, having owned property myself and rented out property...the important thing as far as we're concerned is...to keep the price to around twenty pounds a person'* (CC, 1)

A concern with cost control was also reflected in Marion's language about Newmount. She emphasised a desire to 'make money' and articulated her commercial interest by referring to the hotel's 'unbeatable' trading position and her desire for a 'bigger' hotel. Sandra at Maple Lodge echoed this last sentiment.

Marion: *'I'm not here to rip people off, I'm here to make money but...it's got to be competitive...we were looking for a bigger hotel'* explaining that they chose Newmount to *'Be seen, be sold...the trading position for Newmount is unbeatable. Absolutely unbeatable'* (N, 1; N, 2; N, 11)

And Sandra: *'We'd outgrown an eight bedroomed guest house and we wanted something bigger'* (M,1)

However, feelings evoked by the thrill of commerciality were most clearly articulated by Hazel at Everdene, as she explained what she enjoyed most about the business.

Hazel: *'When the phone rings? Oh, I love it. I love it! It's like the hunt, it's the hunt. I love getting the deposit in, then that bit's mine...the exciting bit is the hunt and getting that booking in'* (EE,4)

Hazel reinforced her 'love' of 'the hunt' through her disdain toward hoteliers who did not operate in the same commercially focused way.

Hazel: *'...a lot of small hotels could do a lot better in many ways. Some are so silly, like they don't take a deposit or if somebody gives you a credit card they don't deduct it...that's our cash flow...It's our income' (EE, 13).*

Hazel's incredulity that other hoteliers did not adopt a business approach continued with this scathing account.

Hazel: *'I can't understand why they put the "no vacancies" out when they've got vacancies. I really can't. Not when there's only a few guests in. "Oh, I can't be bothered to turn one room round". Why not? The linen probably costs you a fiver, that's £60 to pay for breakfast and rest of the money is yours. They're just being silly' (EE, 17)*

Hazel's commercial orientation was further expressed in her resentment about what she would have to do to achieve an industry Silver Award.

Hazel, referring to the hotel industry: *'They've got to realise that we're a commercial operation rather than a second home...we can't be doing trays of tea. And people don't want it...When they arrive they want to go to the room, have a wee, make a cup of tea and then go out. It's what they want' (EE, 16)*

Creating a Hotel Identity

Mike at Pebble Beach also referred to a commercial focus, but for a different reason, that the hotel had to make money to realise his vision of the hotel 'identity' he was creating. His comments suggest a strong personal motive balanced with commercial pragmatism.

Mike: *'I'm emotionally attached to it but at the end of the day it has to make money. I work at doing that through the vision to make the product we want' (P2, 6).*

Mike had no difficulty in articulating how he viewed his hotel concept, perhaps reflecting the clarity of his business 'vision'.

Mike: *'...the plans are to renovate twice; to go through the hotel once to contemporise it and then start again...to develop a boutique, to be a bit more upmarket. So I would hope that we're get there...that we will become a well-known trendy hotel...I'm trying to create that mix of kind of urban city, kind of chic, cool and trendy and a funky little place, cocktail bar and stuff, mixing with kind of life by the beach' (P1, 3; P1, 8)*

Mike's detailed description here mostly aligns with the idea of a boutique hotel, discussed in Chapter 5, except that he acknowledged that Pebble Beach was now less 'homely.'

'It is not as homely now as it was...I knew that when we started, it would not be as homely. But for the clientele that I would want they would much rather come in here for an espresso...than coming in and watching East-enders at full blast' (P1, 13)

The importance of his hotel vision to Mike was reflected in his comments about what motivates him.

Mike: *'My motivation at the moment is a very clear vision of what I want the place to be in a few years time and every day we move closer to that. If we don't and I go to bed I'm not happy but if a wall gets painted or a floor gets varnished...then it's closer to our vision then I'm happy...So I enjoy getting to where we want to be'* (P1, 14)

Mike was also keen to tell me in detail about the level of financial and personal commitment the business entailed, including that he went ahead with the idea even in the face of strong advice to the contrary. His comments here suggest a strong sense of commitment to his idea, and a fierce determination to pursue it.

Mike: *'If I'm going to do it, I've got to be different and therefore I've got to blow probably thirty-five grand to try to create it. If it doesn't work, well, yeah, no problem. I'll put my hand up and say I tried it and that it didn't work but we've got a get out plan and we can take it. Students...everybody thought I was barmy, that I should go into flats. Anybody and everybody with any kind of business sense whatsoever would say "You're mad, why would you work 120 hours a week to run a hotel?"'* (P1, 12; P1, 13)

Rich at Kamarillo was also creating a 'contemporary look' in his hotel, but in contrast to Mike, found great difficulty articulating this vision, finally explaining it as: *'Just contemporary...just clean lines, you know, fresh towels, clean light bedding'* (K1, 7). However, he found it a lot easier to say how he felt about moving toward that vision.

Rich: *'I like to show off what we've got here and I like people to be comfortable...I think in five years time we'll be quite, very nice here. Very nice, yeah'* (K2, 14)

Rich's sentiments resonate with a characteristic of private hospitality, of wanting to impress people who come into the 'home', reflecting the overlap of private and commercial hospitality in small hotels.

Terry at Woodley had a vision of a different sort, which clearly recognised the limitations of his Victorian property.

Terry: *'What I'm trying to do...is to gentrify it, and to make it better, if not the best, of its type'* (W, 14)

Business for Lifestyle

Yet other hoteliers revealed mixed motives, where they focused on the 'business' but in order to subsequently enjoy a lifestyle choice. Chas at Chesildene exemplified this approach.

Chas: *'I may appear to be empire building, actually it's not. I'm building a lifestyle basically. Because basically what I need to do is build up a business...then it becomes a lifestyle'* (CC, 9)

Rebecca at Chinedale alluded to a similar outlook.

Rebecca: *'I think we will always stay open and run it as a business, that comes first because at the moment it's still early days, we're still trying to refurbish. You've got to take the business while it's there...And we will fit our family around that. I think there will come a point when that will change...which will give us a bit of extra time to maybe do some extra family stuff...I'd like something ultimately where you could*

close for a few months of the year because you're doing enough for the rest of the year to have a nice living. So you could close three or four months in the winter and go and do something else' (C, 6; C, 18)

Celia at Brightsea was more explicit about the 'nice lifestyle' she now enjoyed.

Celia: 'If I want to buy something I don't look at the tag anymore. So if it's five pounds or fifty pounds, if I like it I'll have it' (BB, 17)

Celia went on to express her 'amazement' at how she had been able to achieve this.

Celia: 'You can choose...how much you want to earn and how much you don't and who you let in and who you don't. It's up to you...it's amazing how it is...If I didn't have this place, on a normal wage you couldn't do it' (BB, 17; BB, 20)

HOSTS' COMMENTS ABOUT FEELINGS PRIOR TO HOTEL OWNERSHIP

Personal circumstances and/or prior experiences seemed to significantly influence the decision to take on a small hotel. I interpreted hoteliers' accounts as indicating feelings that tended to be 'positive' or 'negative' in tone. I will first consider situations that seemed to evoke positive sentiments.

'Positive' feelings

Heather at Zealands, for example, described how she felt when she resigned from her teaching job to embark on this new venture, using metaphorical images to graphically convey her feelings.

Heather: 'I felt as though a huge weight had been lifted from my shoulders'...that the cloud that had been hanging over me had suddenly gone' (Z1, 2)

Similarly positive sentiments, though for different reasons, were expressed by Donna at Violet Court:

'It was just, I just feel...this was my baby...this was what I really wanted to do and make it work' (V, 2)

Sandra at Maple Lodge also implied that she and her husband felt positive about taking on the business, though for more practical reasons.

'We both wanted to do something else, me for the money, him for the work. And we thought we could do it; we'd both had businesses before. So we thought well... why not give this a go?' (M, 11)

Mike at Pebble Beach alluded to the benefits that previous experience in the industry brought to the business.

'I'm used to it, I used to have 180 staff in three leisure centres and I worked in London for years so I was used to bigger finances I suppose and bigger teams' (P1, 2)

For Ruby at Ankara a change in personal circumstances influenced her decision to have a hotel. Here she clearly conveys how she felt about meeting her family commitments.

Ruby: *'My daughter at the time was...coming up to starting school. And I needed to be at home more because she needed me more really...and I really am a stay at home mum and that was what I wanted'* (AA, 2)

Personal reasons were also cited by Sean from Ainsley and Rich at Kamarillo, who wanted more time to 'be together' with their respective partners, Jon and Pete.

Sean: *'...it was either staying in London...or we did something we could do together ... I think it's quite something being together twenty four hours a day'* (A, 1)

Rich: *'...we took it on to see more of each other. That's one of the reasons that we bought it as well was the fact that we didn't see each other before because we worked such stupid hours...I worked 12 hour shifts. I was going out the door as Pete was coming in...it tested the relationship. But this, at least I know when he does come back, I know we're working but we're still seeing each other'* (K1, 11)

These examples reveal how important it is for some hoteliers to balance personal and business priorities, reflected in their desire to balance the 'business' with a lifestyle. And Ruby, Sean and Rich in particular, show how emotions that are integral to personal relationships can significantly influence the ownership decision.

'Negative' Sentiments

However, these views contrast with two hoteliers' accounts that suggested more negative inclinations toward taking on the business.

Celia at Brightsea explained simply: *'...it was a case of I was getting divorced and couldn't live on benefits for the rest of my life'* (BB,1).

In contrast to Celia's brief explanation, it was clear to me that Terry at Woodley wanted to give a detailed account of how he had come to run his hotel. He seemed to want to, or need to, explain the feelings he had experienced, that had led to this decision. Those feelings, and his interpretation of them, are articulated clearly in the following account. Terry was visibly upset recalling these events, his voice sometimes breaking, and sometimes needing to pause before continuing.

Terry: *'I have a very particular definition of how I got here...in the last two years I've virtually hardly worked at all. I worked a lot at trying to get work but I really was getting nowhere...I spent years in the wilderness, looking for something else...for probably up to ten years and could find nothing...my options were to be self-employed or not employed. In the end, that's what it got to. I had to buy a business or start a business. That was the only option left, or become economically dead which I'd been for the last two years... I had woken up every day not being happy to wake up. I was lost and lonely, I was a loser. My life is not a success. My life has never been a success (said choked)* (W, 12; W, 18)

Terry: *'Do you know...the vast numbers of men in this country in their fifties who are economically inactive. Are you aware of the reservoir of energy and talent of men who are not doing anything...a lot of TV commercials...treat men as wimp, wimp, wimp...Useless, hopeless...They have no visible talents. And nor do I. I have no talents left to sell. I have no talent...I would make a bad employee...I would make a crap employee'* (W, 17)

Terry: *'I had to get back to work. Now, I'm no happier...I'm certainly no happier being here than in my house. But I actually did what I had to do. It actually had to happen. I am actually, on balance, no happier here...By making a difference I am doing something. I have something to do. I'm not a nobody. I'm not nothing. Which I was, or certainly thought I was before. You know'* (W, 20; W, 23)

In contrast again, Mary at Grasmere, simply said that she hadn't wanted to run a hotel at first, that she had felt that she was not the 'right' sort of person to do it, implying that an hotelier needs to be a certain type of personality.

Mary: *'I didn't really want to do it to start with...I said I'm not the right sort of person to run a hotel'* (G, 6)

Mixed Sentiments

Motives could also vary between partners running a hotel, as Denise at Tipton revealed.

Denise: *'My husband would love to retire but I would be bored stiff, so I will keep going for a while...I don't think my husband would ever have chosen this'* (T, 10)

The sentiments expressed by hoteliers in these accounts show how personal characteristics and construction of experience can combine to shape hoteliers' perceptions of their situations prior to ownership. I suggest that the overall indication of 'positivity' or 'negativity' that I have interpreted from their accounts could subsequently influence hosts' feelings toward ownership itself.

Long-Held Desire

Other hoteliers suggested they had nurtured a long-held desire to run such a business, aspirations that could also imply positive motivations toward ownership. Ruby of Ankara, Heather of Zealands, and Rich of Kamarillo expressed such ambitions.

Ruby: *'We really wanted to end up having a guest house...it was just something we always wanted to do'* (AA, 1; AA, 2)

Heather had *'always wanted to do this'* (Z1, 1)

And Rich said *'It's something we both always wanted to do. Is run a guest house'* (K1, 1)

Celia at Brightsea alluded to a similar intention, but expressed this more casually, possibly implying a less committed inclination.

Celia: *'I always fancied a small bed and breakfast'* (BB, 1)

Donna at Violet Court and Rebecca at Chinedale revealed mixed sentiments. Donna was passionate about running a business, but not necessarily an hotel, and Rebecca revealed a difference between her parents' firm desire to have the hotel, and her and her husband's more lukewarm sentiments.

Donna: *'I actually thought it would be quite nice to own a little hotel...Yeah I'd always wanted to have my own business; it wasn't necessarily a hotel'* (V, 1)

And Rebecca: *'Mum and Dad had always wanted to do it... we were sort of interested...so we took the plunge'* (C, 1)

Liking People

Other hoteliers echoed the point made by Mary of Grasmere that personality plays a role in hotel ownership. Pam at Solent House for example emphasised the importance of 'enjoying meeting people'.

Pam: *'We do enjoy meeting people...There are some hoteliers who don't...they say they can't bear people being around all the time. And I think "Well, what's the point?" ..."We're people that like people and we're both easy going'* (S, 10)

Derek at Quivern echoed this sentiment.

Derek: *'I think you've got to be a certain sort of person to do it...You've got to be interested in other people. It's no good if you're not interested in people. You've got to be interested in people, or at least make out you're interested in people'* (Q, 12)

Marion at Newmount was also emphatic about liking people, but recognised that someone could still be an hotelier without necessarily having that disposition.

Marion: *'I'm a people person. I enjoy meeting people...I have to have people around...the second week of January, I needed another human voice...I actually like to have people round about, so I think that attitude comes across...You can take a job in a hotel, and be much more interested in admin, and the people coming in and out of the door are just bits of paper to you...But I actually like people. I like to talk to people'* (N, 4; N,5)

Just 'working'

Yet others suggested that their enjoyment of hospitality work, and/or just being *in* work, contributed to their decision to take on a hotel. Sheila at Beechlands for example said that when she and her partner Tom were considering setting up a small business, she said to him: *'I've got to work, I can't not work, I have to work'* (B, 1). Her work ethic and determination were further reflected in her account of what happened when Tom later wanted to sell the business. She told him:

'You have a job. I don't. This is my job. This is my life' to which he replied *'Well you couldn't run this on your own'* She added *'...that was all the ammunition I needed'* (B, 7)

The evident pleasure Sheila derived from the work was also expressed in this comment.

'I love working. It keeps me young, it keeps me going...I'm not being obnoxious, I do give a lot of people pleasure, they love coming...I actually love doing it and I don't even accept this is mine. I just feel as if I work here' (B, 7; B,8)

Shirley at Jaydon also expressed how important she felt it was to 'work', in this description of what led to her decision to 'do something' and run a hotel.

Shirley: *'You need to have something. So yes, that was one of our main things...it got to the point that my house was so spotlessly clean that you know that all I had to*

do in the afternoon if I didn't have any work was to lie on the sofa and watch the telly. I was sick of the telly. And...I wasn't ready to retire' (J1, 3)

Marion at Newmount expressed a similar attachment to working, saying:

'Oh I'll never retire. Oh God no! I'd die of boredom. I'll never retire, I'll just keep going on and on and on' (N, 13)

FEELINGS ABOUT THE EXPERIENCE OF RUNNING A SMALL HOTEL

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the mix of 'positive' and 'negative' feelings toward hotel ownership that have already been discussed, hoteliers' feelings about the subsequent experience of running a hotel were also mixed.

'Good' Feelings

The following views seemed to convey generally positive sentiments about owning a hotel. Rich at Kamarillo, Sandra at Maple Lodge and Anne at Xanadu all used the term 'enjoy' to describe how they felt about the experience. Mary at Grasmere agreed, even though she had not initially wanted to take it on.

Rich: *'We're still enjoying it. It's all good fun' (K1, 12)*

And Sandra: *'We enjoyed it' (M, 11)*

And Anne: *'We enjoy it, it's hard work...but we enjoy it. It's what we wanted to do' (X, 1)*

And Mary: *'I can honestly say now, looking back, although I really did not want to do it, I have enjoyed it. I really have. I look back on my life and it's been good fun' (G, 6)*

Rebecca at Chinedale, Judy at Eastleigh and Mark of Dalebourne all expressed similar sentiments, but also how positive guest feedback and guests' return custom contributed to them feeling good about what they were doing.

Rebecca: *'People are great and they come back time and again...that's the nice bit of it... that's a nice reward...it means you're doing something right' (C, 2)*

And Judy: *'Over the years we've met lots of nice people and we've enjoyed it' (E, 1)*

And Mark: *'With only a minor regret...we've enjoyed it...especially when people you know come perhaps two or three times a year, or as they leave they rebook their room for the same week next year. That's great, I mean that's great. It gives you a good feeling' (D, 2; D, 4)*

Mike at Pebble Beach added that running the business gave him a 'buzz', but, reflecting his long-term plan to develop his hotel identity, explained that the 'buzz' derived from both his interaction with people and seeing his 'product' develop.

Mike: *'It still gives me a buzz, meeting people during the season. You meet some fantastic people. There are some great people in the world. Now, I get more of a buzz from seeing the product develop, having the rooms refurbished for example' (P2, 4)*

Others were unequivocal about how much they 'loved' hotel ownership.

Sheila at Beechlands: *'I loved it from the start. As soon as I started I knew I loved it'* (B, 2)

And Donna at Violet Court: *'It's just the best thing I've ever done. I just love it. I just absolutely love it...this is my sort of career'* (V, 8-9)

Natalie and Max at Royden Court expressed similar delight, though each with different emphases.

Max: *'There's no negative feelings at all'* (R1, 1)

Natalie: *'I just think it's the best thing we've ever done because we're working together for ourselves and it's for something as well...I'm ever so happy because I think I did hairdressing for 17 years and how I wanted a change...And as well we have just found each other, we've only been together for a year and then we've got married and we've got a new business. And this is just like a perfect beginning for us, isn't it, really? It couldn't be better. I think we're just so lucky two people to get this'* (R1, 5)

And Phil at Jaydon said that the best thing about being an hotelier was simply,

'Being me' (J2, 2)

Frustrations and Bitterness

However, for some hoteliers, the experience of running the hotel was clearly not an altogether happy one. The following comments reveal frustration and disappointments.

Chas: *'I'm supposed to be semi-retired, but actually this has turned into a full time business'* (CC, 9)

Terry at Woodley and Derek at Quivern implied some dissatisfaction with their financial return.

Terry: *'I make no money doing this. I have no income really...But you have to make a living'* (W, 18)

Derek: *'You're never going to be rich buying one of these places'* (Q, 14)

In contrast, Celia at Brightsea felt that the business had been 'financially worth it' but that there had been 'lessons' learnt that had made her 'very hard'. Her use of repetition and emphasis suggest the impact this had on her.

Celia: *'A lot of lessons have been taught here, it makes you very hard but it has been financially worth it...when I first came here I was told students in the winter, guests in the summer. And I thought...I could handle that. But never in my wildest dreams did I envisage what I would go through...Would I do it all again? Would I do it all again? I guess I guess I would...But of course there's a lot of lessons to be learnt'* (BB, 18; BB, 19)

'Good' and 'Bad' Experiences

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given their different motivations and expectations, some hoteliers presented a mixed picture as to how they felt about the experience of hotel ownership. This suggests that the various situations they encountered could evoke different emotions.

Phil at Jaydon for example suggested that he had 'no regrets' but admitted it had taken a while for him to get used to the new venture.

Phil: *'We haven't got no regrets have we? It took me a long time to accept and about two months ago I sort of reached another stage of acceptance, if you know what I mean'* (J1, 17)

Denise at Tipton indicated the mixed emotions experienced by her husband.

Denise: *'He's enjoyed it over the years but I think we're just worried about money now. And it's a bit sad, we've put so much into it and it's so hard to make a living'* (T, 11)

Identity Issues

For other hoteliers, the experience of running a hotel seemed to trigger feelings that shaped or reinforced a sense of 'who they are.' Here, it seemed that guest feedback played a role in reflecting images back to hoteliers that aligned with their portrayals of themselves and their businesses, for example feedback that mirrored standards they had set themselves.

Rich's use of language and emphasis here conveys how guest feedback made him feel at Kamarillo.

Rich: *'I like to have the rooms looking nice...you show them the room and they go "Oh this is nice". You know, it's lovely then. You think "Oh this is what it's all about" and then you get nice comments in the visitors book...We had a visitors book... I just wanted to see what people would put...it's good...we have some lovely things wrote...it is nice, it is nice to look back on...you get a buzz.... it means a lot, it really does...we had a family this weekend said "Can you fit us in?" You know, it's great. So obviously we're creating the right image you know'* (K2, 1; K2,3; K2, 8; K1, 9)

Terry at Woodley also clearly articulated how owning a hotel has made him feel. His descriptions of how owning of the hotel has altered his view of himself clearly conveys the depth of emotion he has experienced.

Terry: *'I'm not a success while I am not a failure. I am not a failure...I said almost in tears to my mother...I feel I have turned my life around from failure to success, just because I sold my house and bought a hotel...it feels like something's happened...it's something I had to do, kicking and screaming...This has given me an identity. It has given me what in essence I came here for...I'm not the failure that I was. I'm not the loser that I was, and that is because I have a mission. I have a purpose. When the alarm goes, I have a reason to get up and greet the day. I have something to do. By buying a hotel I have bought an identity. I-am-a-Bournemouth-hotelier, at whatever level'* (W, 18; W, 23)

These accounts suggest that hoteliers' feelings toward ownership both shapes and is shaped by their personal and social identities, an interpretation that aligns with my contention that emotion derives from both intrapsychic and interpersonal sources, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Yet other hoteliers suggested that hotel ownership had afforded them a sense of 'control' over their lives. Ellen at Eastleigh and Donna at Violet Court for example said how they enjoyed being self-employed.

Ellen, about 'being your own boss:' *'I do admit I do like that. I don't like being told what to do...here I know what I do and I just get on with it'* (E, 8)

And Donna compared it to previous employment: *'It would be a happy release to work for myself'* (V, 1)

Heather at Zealands expressed a similar sentiment, but also alluded to the rewards of being self-employed.

Heather: *'It's nice working for yourself... what you put in is what you get out'* (Z2, 16)

In contrast, Rebecca at Chinedale and Natalie at Royden Court seemed to value being in control of their own time.

Rebecca: *'It's just nice to have your own business...do things when you want to do them. You can pop out if you want to, if you want to shop. You can do at times'* (C, 6)

Natalie: *'I like being our own boss I think and being able to if you want some time out, you can'* (R2, 16)

However, Judy of Eastleigh and Jenny at Farley Court also alluded to the difficulty of relinquishing control of one's own business.

Judy, about handing over the day-to-day running to her daughter and staff: *'In an hour there's going to be someone sitting in the office doing, in my place, what I did. And I'll be thinking she's in my place stopping me doing the things I should do'* (E, 10)

And Jenny: *'I'm semi retired, semi-retired because when you still own a hotel you can never fully retire'* (F,1)

Jenny's and Judy's comments reveal how emotion, identity and power entwine, also as discussed in Chapter 2.

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS AFFECTING WORKING IN THE BUSINESS

This section explores how issues beyond the immediate ambit of the hotelier could influence how he or she conducted the business. Hoteliers' descriptions of these influences reveal how they felt about them, the effect the influence had on them, and the extent to which they felt they had some control over the situations that emerged. Thus these insights uncover to what degree hoteliers appear to feel 'in control' or are 'controlled by' external factors affecting their businesses.

I identified three external influences that seemed significant to hoteliers in my study; finance; support from others; and changes in the hospitality industry. These hence constitute the three sub-themes of this section.

FINANCE

My study revealed that financial burdens and constraints could cause concern to the small hotelier. Sometimes this resulted from needing to recoup heavy investment in the business, but could also emanate from events beyond the hotelier's immediate sphere of control, such as loss of business or change in personal circumstances. It also seemed to arise from an on-going need to update and refurbish the property and to pay for everyday running costs. What is interesting is how hoteliers responded to such pressures, the extent to which they sought to, could, or did, take some control over the situation or to what degree they appeared to be 'controlled by' such events.

Return on Investment

Taking hoteliers' responses to financial investment first, Sandra at Maple Lodge seemed to have a clear plan for this.

Sandra: 'We're having to build up a lot of winter trade because obviously we've got a huge mortgage' (M, 1)

Mike at Pebble Beach similarly had a plan, though it was clear that both the investment and long-term nature of his retrieval plan were on a significantly greater scale. Mike's explanation here showed his clear determination as to how he intended to tackle this.

Mike: 'To sell ourselves as a contemporary hotel we had to at least renovate the main areas...but the rooms are the ones that are probably going to take a long time...it will probably cost 5 grand per bedroom. And we'll try to do maybe four or five a year, finances permitting...the difference here to previous jobs is that we have huge financial pressure. We've got three quarters of a million worth of debt, so now every day we have to find a hundred pounds just for interest...it has to make money. But it doesn't have to make money for the first three years, so we can concentrate on getting the product right, what we want it to be. But it has to make money in the long term' (P1, 1; P1, 11; 2, 4)

In contrast, Donna at Violet Court implied that she and Paul could take a more relaxed approach, having not invested 'everything' in the business.

Donna: 'It wasn't quite so essential...we obviously wanted to make it work because it was a business and yes we need to make money because this is what we're actually living from but it wasn't a case of having all our money tied up which meant we literally had to work our socks off and never leave the hotel' (V,9)

In contrast again, Terry at Woodley explained how he *did* have to invest 'everything' in the business, and yet decided to exert considerable control over what business he chose to accept or turn away.

Terry: 'I had to sell everything I had, in a depressed market...For someone who has not got much money and who has never got enough customers, if you know what I mean, I turn away a lot of business, I turn away quite a lot of business' (W, 3; W, 18)

However, as Jenny, owner of large family hotel Farley Court observed, not everyone would feel they had the choice to refuse custom in this way.

Jenny: *'...some hotels who perhaps have loans from the bank...they couldn't afford to do that, they would be thinking "Oh God, that's the best part of a thousand pounds walking out the door" sort of thing' (F, 10)*

Unanticipated Expenses

However, hoteliers faced with unexpected or unanticipated financial pressure beyond their immediate control revealed somewhat different sentiments. In the following account, Sheila at Beechlands implies mixed emotions, initially claiming that her change in financial circumstances when her partner left 'doesn't bother' her, but later revealing that it *does* worry her. These sentiments also seem entwined with her emotional attachment to the business.

Sheila: *'But it doesn't bother me...it does bother me, but you just work through it...the back end of the summer I did OK, but I work all the time. Non-stop. It doesn't bother me, I love it. It's down to me, I do it all...I think the worst part of the hotel is the business part, about the mortgage and the financial side of it...I have to sell in five years time because when I bought my partner out, he wanted so much money...I have to pay back in five years time when I sell...so I'm hoping, I'm hoping I won't like the place...I worry that I'll still love the place and I won't want to sell' (B, 2; B, 9; B,13)*

This account suggests that Sheila is trying to take control over the unexpected circumstances in which she finds herself, that *'It's down to me'* and *'I work all the time. Non-stop'*. Celia at Brightsea also appeared to have taken control when the trade she expected did not materialise.

Celia: *'These guests that I was supposed to have just didn't materialise...so I thought "Oh my God"'...I got offered asylum seekers. Now for my sins I thought "Oh, £100 a week, that was more than I was getting for students...two asylum seekers in one room it'd be £200 a week...I thought, "OK yeah, OK. Yeah". Well it sounds good when you've got windows dropping out and the place was, you know, a mess' (BB, 4-6)*

However, Denise at Tipton appeared to have less control over her financial situation, expressing her *'shock'* and *'frustration'* at finding that she and her husband were financially stretched at a time of their life when they least expected to be. Her account suggests a certain *'helplessness'* and not quite knowing what to do.

Denise: *'Because our mortgage is paid, we expected to be much better off now, but in actual fact it's quite the opposite. It's quite a shock...My husband said "I didn't expect to be in this situation where we're juggling every month" unless we took out another mortgage which we don't want to do, we don't feel that we want to...The thing that hasn't met my expectations is the lack of money so that you can't do what you want to do with the place. It's very hard to reinvest. That's the frustration' (T, 10 - 13)*

The degree to which hoteliers seemed to be able to 'control' these unexpected events varied, but in all three examples it is clear how circumstances beyond their immediate control could affect their emotions.

Running Costs

Other hoteliers expressed how they felt about the on-going financial burden of running a hotel. Hazel at Everdene and Shirley at Jaydon for example both conveyed negative sentiments about the demands of refurbishing the hotel.

Hazel: *'Whenever we go abroad I always come back depressed when I see our bathroom fittings...lovely taps and things you get in Italy...we've just spent one and half thousand pounds on a new carpet. It's always ongoing. We spend a lot of money on the place'* (EE, 6)

And Shirley's description of moving in: *'We had toilets crashing through the ceiling. If it could have broke, it broke, believe me. It was awful'* (J1, 17)

Derek at Quivern expressed similar sentiments, referring to 'horrendous' bills, though seemed to take some control by asking students to turn off the lights, but which is arguably an easier response than having to install new fixtures and fittings.

Derek about students: *'We ask that they turn the lights out...They're only paying 80 odd pounds a week. And the electricity bills are horrendous. Horrendous bills'* (Q, 6)

In contrast, Rebecca at Chinedale offered a positive view, that being a small hotel with no staff, they are 'fortunate' in not having the 'pressure' to pay staff.

Rebecca: *'I think we're in a fortunate position where a bigger hotel wouldn't be is that we don't have any staff so we haven't got the pressure. If we are only half full one week we haven't got the pressure of "We must pay someone's salary" so we've got to constantly have people it'* (C, 6)

SUPPORT FROM OTHERS

Two hoteliers expressed 'negative' sentiments about situations where they suggested they were 'let down' by others. Sheila at Beechlands recalled how the behaviour of her partner Tom contributed to her financial worries, her account illustrating the complications that can arise when a business arrangement entwines with a personal relationship, involving a strong emotional attachment.

Sheila: *'I have to say he did the books...I don't want to go down that road, that money might have gone a little bit haywire. Because I never checked. But when you're with somebody and you love them you know, a partner, you don't check them, which I would never have done anyway'* (B,6)

Referring to a relationship of a different kind, Celia at Brightsea explained how she reacted to not being supported by the local Council in a joint HMO venture. Her anger was evident in this account, but so too was a sense that she had 'taken control' of the situation, with her comment that *'No small fry does that'*, referring to taking the Council to court.

Celia explained: *'So I took Bournemouth Borough Council to court. No small fry does that. But I was so angry and I had done this for eighteen months/two years, right, for them, and out of the two years that I had done, I'd worked really hard and hadn't had my full money'* (BB, 11)

Celia's account illustrates how emotion can be entwined with power, as I have discussed in Chapter 2. Her anger seems to have been triggered by the Council's response, which in turn led to Celia's determination to re-negotiate power in her favour.

In contrast to these experiences, a number of hoteliers conveyed 'positive' emotions about the support they received from fellow hoteliers, both practical help and also friendship. Sandra at Maple Lodge and Heather at Zealands for example expressed appreciation for the former.

Sandra: *'Other hotels...have helped us out, you know...shown us the ropes, told us where we're going wrong, given us tips'* (M, 12)

Heather, that in difficult situations she would *'...have no hesitation in asking them for assistance'* (Z1, 5)

Chas at Chesildene and Rich at Kamarillo also said how good they felt about having the support of fellow hoteliers, with Rich's language and emphasis being particularly effusive.

Referring to neighbouring hoteliers Chas said: *'Both of these people have been more helpful than anybody else'* (CC, 15)

And Rich enthused: *'Oh yeah, they've been great. The previous owner...you know, we had cards off them to welcome us and it was lovely, it was really nice. And Ruby...she's been a Godsend, she really has. And it's just nice to have people that are experienced, you know'* (K1, 6)

Donna at Violet Court offered a different perspective again, emphasising how *'important'* her new *'friends'* were in her life as a hotelier.

Donna: *'I feel I've got a lot of friends here...having a really nice circle of friends that I've made and they've been people that only six years ago that have become very important to me'* (V, 8; V, 11)

INDUSTRY CHANGES

Some hoteliers expressed concerns about changes within the hospitality industry that had impacted on their businesses. These included; changes in the pattern of holidays, increased legislation and a litigious culture, and changes to the hotel grading system.

The following comments suggested some regret and sadness at the way the pattern of holidaymaking has changed.

Judy at Eastleigh: *'Well the business has changed; I wouldn't say necessarily the guests have changed. There are less long-term holidays, more breaks, weekends, stag and hen nights'* (E, 6)

Denise at Tipton, about the type of guests that used to take holidays: *'There was a sort of continuity when people said that their grandparents stayed, so their parents stayed, so they stayed. But that's all gone...the whole attitude to holidays has totally changed'* (T, 2)

And Mark at Dalebourne observed: *'The pattern of holidaymaking changed'* (D,4)

Additionally, Jenny at Farley Court commented on how older guests feel in today's climate. *'They say to me "We're frightened to go over the road or even down to the town" whereas they used to go down to the pictures at a weekend, they won't go'* (F, 12)

For others, growth in legislation and a concurrent litigious culture affected how they felt about the business. Chas at Chesildene for example explained how he perceived the effect of legislation on setting up his small business.

Chas: *'Because, because there's so much legislation it's becoming more and more difficult'* (CC, 1)

Owners of two large family hotels offered different perspectives on this issue. Mark at Dalebourne observed how legislative changes affected guest behaviour, whilst Vera at Yarmouth explained how such changes had made her feel, expressing this clearly through her use of language and emphasis.

Vera: *'Legislation being what it is, you have to become slightly more impersonal I feel for the business...If you've got a complaint you would take it very very personally, as a personal slight if you like'* and about when insurers took over a client's claim *'She hadn't heard from them, now that was disgraceful. I wrote her a letter apologising, I'm not supposed to but its personal...to me it's rude'* (Y, 6)

And Mark: *'With this litigation culture...it was people grumbling'* (D, 8)

For others, changes to the hotel grading system had caused problems. Bert at Haydon Lodge suggested trading would *'get tougher'* whilst Chas at Chesildene was deeply *'insulted'* at not being graded.

Bert: *'...we feel our rates are quite reasonable but it's the competition' ...the grading is all going to change, it's going to get tougher'* (H, 3; H,14)

Chas, referring to being vetted by Visit Britain: *'You get somebody coming up and saying "Oh you're not even a one star". I think what a thing to say! This is a beautiful property in a fantastic location, right? And you can see the price we're offering To say that you're not even worth a one star...Everybody knows what a star means and if you fall into one of these categories. So if somebody comes to us and says "You're going to get a one star" it's deeply insulting'* (CC, 14-15)

Chas's view here implies that he felt *'slighted'* by the assessor's feedback, suggesting that criticism of the business impacted on the social identity he sought to portray through his hotel.

HOSTS' VALUES

I identified four sub-themes in my research that capture how hoteliers in this study expressed their values, how their own values could be reflected in the way they ran the business, how they articulated values through particular hotel identities, value judgements they made in assessing guest suitability, and how their references to individual differences could imply particular value sets.

HOTELIERS' VALUES REFLECTED IN THE BUSINESS

Values and Standards

One way that hoteliers expressed their values was through the standards of hospitality they sought to attain and maintain. In terms of establishing standards, Rich at Kamarillo suggested he projected his own standards of what he would like as a guest.

Rich: *'I just think what I'd expect...I'm just a fussy person. It's like cooking as well, I think if I can't eat it nobody else will eat it' and referring to cleanliness, '...it's clean and I think that's a big thing, you know. If the place is clean it means a lot doesn't it?'* (K1, 8-10; K2, 3)

The importance of personal standards that Rich emphasises here was echoed by Sheila at Beechlands, and reflected in her implied criticism of other hoteliers' standards.

Sheila: *'I don't give anyone anything that I wouldn't eat, I can't give people food that's not decent...I like when I actually clean the rooms and they're up to a good standard...there's a couple I've been to that I wouldn't recommend...Because some have animals'* (B, 3; B,8; B, 11)

For Rich at Kamarillo, Sandra at Maple Lodge and Derek at Quivern the standard of their personal presentation also seemed important, for example adopting a 'professional' dress code to symbolise their standards.

Rich, about serving food *'You can do it if you want it to be slapdash, just throw it in front of them. But...I like it all to be perfect so I get a girl that comes in and she's dressed in black and white, you know, very smart, hair tied back and it's all done properly...you wouldn't want somebody turning up in there you know, in bitty leggings and dirty jeans and bloody trainers, you know, while you're having your breakfast...I mean like Pete, I tell Pete "Look you're not going to serve breakfasts in shorts. Stick some trousers on". I think that's the professional side of it yeah, I think you've got to be...it's certainly the image we're trying to portray'* (K2, 9)

Sandra: *'I think we're trying to be more professional...It's hard to put it into words really. I suppose I wear a chef's jacket, my husband makes sure he's dressed properly, dress code is vital'* (M, 6)

Derek: *'I'm in black and white, we dress smart, we dress semi-formally. We don't slouch around in jeans, we never wear jeans and that'* (Q, 10)

The detail of these accounts suggests how important these issues are to these hoteliers.

Pam at Solent House conveyed similar sentiments about standards, particularly emphasising her pride in the hotel and her evident pleasure when guest feedback reflected the standards she and her husband had set themselves.

Pam: *'Lots of people walk in and say "Wow this is great" and hundreds of people say the rooms are fabulous, that they're so clean and so nice...you want to be proud of your place, so you keep it clean and when something wears out you buy it new'* (S, 8; S, 10)

However, sometimes guests' comments could be hurtful, as Sheila at Beechlands found. Sheila explained how she became very protective when a guest challenged the standard of her hotel. As she gave this account Sheila's tone of voice and facial expressions suggested that the experience had evoked feelings of hurt and indignation.

Sheila: *'...a lady rang up and she said "... are you really clean?" And I goes " Yes, I'm four diamond rated...if you want to go on the internet it's got all pictures on but it's better than what the pictures are...I was just over protective of the hotel because I do like people to know that I'm nice and clean before they come and if there's any problems that if I can rectify it I will'* (B, 10; B, 13)

Donna at Violet Court reported a challenge of different kind, where guests left their rooms so untidy that she could not clean them without handling their belongings, which other hoteliers warned her could leave her open to accusations of theft. Faced with this situation, Donna left the rooms as she found them, but suggested this jarred with her own standards of presentation.

Donna: *'I still don't feel totally comfortable with it because I'd like them to have a nice tidy room for them to come back into but I have got at the back of mind now this issue that somebody has said to me'* (V, 15)

However, hoteliers also seemed to be able to shape guest behaviour by conveying their own standards. Terry explained how changing the culture at Woodley influenced guest behaviour.

Terry, commenting on changing the breakfasts: *'It helped me to change the culture of the hotel...I threw out the TV...and I put in classic FM. And the difference in culture is just astonishing. From what was noisy unpleasant, certainly unpleasant for me, I think largely unpleasant anyway, but the sheer smell of warm croissants and classic FM. Do you know people are better behaved? People are more pleasant. People are a bit quieter'* (W, 3)

Hotelier Behaviour

Hoteliers also conveyed their personal values through the way they behaved toward others. Two particular examples that emerged from my research were a concern for others and egalitarianism. These accounts reveal how such values could impact on owners' roles as hoteliers. Shirley and Phil at Jaydon for example explained how they liked to help people, even if the experience proved difficult.

Phil: *'We're suckers for helping people and we sometimes go, probably go a bit too far'* (J2, 11)

Shirley, about a guest who sent a letter that she interpreted as a suicide note: *'Phil sort of said "Leave it". But I said "No, you can't. This is a cry for help whether you like the man or not"...so I rang the police and they said they would take over'* (J1, 11)

Shirley, referring to guests who they discovered were taking drugs: *'So we actually had to evict them. I didn't want to do that. It was difficult yeah. But...we don't want it here because word gets round ...but at the same time it was putting someone on the street'* (J1, 5)

Heather at Zealands expressed similar concerns for people and that she felt 'mean' and 'embarrassed' when she had to make judgements about guests' suitability when they might be 'down on their luck'.

Heather, about refusing to let a guest stay whom she suspected of being homeless: *'I felt really mean. But what can you do? I was embarrassed...I mean I wasn't horrible to her...I think I was kinder than a lot would have been I think, seeing her on the doorstep. Some people would have said "Sorry" and shut the door. Well I didn't do that (Z2, 25)*

And Heather about a man who seemed 'strange' and who didn't appear for breakfast: *'So anyway I didn't hear anybody going in the morning, I was worried, I was a little concerned about him up there' (Z2, 26)*

And Heather refusing someone who had seemed drunk: *'And this bloke says "Oh all right, fair enough guv" And was really pleasant! And then you think "Oh bloody hell!"...that does concern me a little bit. Because I'm soft. If I could just say "No" and slam the door I wouldn't be concerned at all, but a little of me thinks, "Oh God, these people are down on their luck", you know?' (Z2, 29)*

Two other hoteliers, Mike at Pebble Beach and Mary at Grasmere revealed how their views about the way people should be treated, shaped their attitudes as hoteliers. They were both expressive in the language they used, Mike about his passion for people, and Mary with her uncompromising views about treating people fairly. Her use of terms such as 'despicable' and her heavy use of emphasis suggested how strongly she felt about this.

Mary about a conversation with one of her porters, that he said: *"Hello Mrs. P, I'm only the kitchen porter" and I said to him "M, you might only be the kitchen porter but you are one of the most important people in the hotels. If it wasn't for you, the chefs wouldn't be very happy so the food would go down. The restaurant manager would be incredibly unhappy, the guests would be unhappy. You are one of the most important people. We are a team and you are just as important as the others" And he stayed with me for years! But guests don't see a kitchen porter' (G, 5)*

Mary about guests' attitudes: *'I don't do it very often now, but very occasionally...I have helped behind the bar, and so I played "barmaid". And people used to come into the bar and treat me like a barmaid. And I found it quite despicable that their attitude to me changed totally when they found I was an owner. I just can't cope with people who don't treat people as equal. Just because you serve at table doesn't make you any less important' (G, 5)*

Mike: *'I love people. I really really like people...I like all people. I think the world's brilliant. I'm passionately in love the planet...everybody's the same all across the world. All this stuff about blacks and whites and Muslims and it's all bollocks. Everybody's great...People individually are great. Put people together and involve politics and religion and big groups and then you have problems (P1, 14)*

These views revealed strong personal values about behaviour toward others that shaped the way these hoteliers approached the host-guest relationship.

EXPRESSING VALUES THROUGH A HOTEL IDENTITY

Some hoteliers expressed their values through the hotel identity they portrayed.

Family Values

For four hoteliers, it seemed that 'family values' constituted the social identity they wished to communicate through their hotels. One of these was Rebecca who owned a small hotel, Chinedale, whilst the other three - Mark at Dalebourne, Jenny at Farley Court and Vera at Yarmouth – all owned large family hotels. They all communicated to me how they hoped guests would feel about their 'family' hotels and how they anticipated this would shape the host-guest relationship. For Jenny and Vera, 'family' values also held strong personal significance, since their businesses had been in their families for fifty years. Their emotional attachment was clear from the way they described them.

Rebecca: *'We're a family run hotel and we try to portray that and hopefully people come and feel that'* (C, 13)

Mark: *'We'd also say we're family-run...it somehow conveys a certain sort of personal touch, friendly touch, a bit of warmth almost, that sort of idea'* (D, 7)

Jenny: *'It was my parents' business before so we've actually been in here for over fifty years. Well actually we think we're the only family-run hotel in Bournemouth now...Our thing is, our premise is that we run this hotel on friendly and personal service and cleanliness and good food. We don't profess to be really lovely hotel because we're not and we can't'* (F, 1-2)

Vera: *'I think hotels, going back, were far more personal than they are now. Very much so...It's natural, when you've had something for so long, it is part of your family, it's very personal...I've had some very proud moments, I can now look back and feel I've carried on, my dad would be looking down and would be pleased...there's family blood in these bricks'* (Y, 6; Y, 12)

'Contemporary' Image

Other hoteliers set out to *create* particular hotel identities, which can be considered as constituting expressions of their personal identities and values, projected through the social identity they wished to convey to their target market. For two hoteliers in my study such social positioning seemed to involve conveying a 'contemporary' rather than 'traditional' image, through the symbolism of hotel presentation. However, this also arguably meant attracting particular social groups and excluding others, in order to 'match' guests to the hotel image.

Rich began his account trying to explain what he and his partner were trying to create at Kamarillo, but found this difficult to do, so instead explained what it was like before. His amusing and graphic portrayal of how the hotel looked when they took it over revealed how he found this image both distasteful and funny. He went on to express his relief that guests had been pleasantly surprised at the new image, the importance of this to Rich reflected in his admission, more than once, of feeling '*embarrassed*' by its earlier state.

Rich: *'We're trying to make it just clean lines, contemporary...just go away from the bloody walls being...when we walked in, to look at, it was like a film set...there was fairy lights everywhere...But they weren't just tacked on, they were stapled on.'*

Everywhere. It was tacky, absolutely tacky. You needed dark glasses when you walked in through the door! ...It was like a throw back from the sixties, honestly...it was terrible (K1, 3; K1, 14)

And regarding guests' reactions to the name, which had remained unchanged: *'Yeah, it sounds tacky, it sounds typical poor B & B and people have said that to us who've come here "God, it's nothing like we thought". And I say "Really? Thank God for that!"...I don't feel as embarrassed...to bring people in and show them the rooms. Whereas before I was very embarrassed...I kept explaining to them, you know "Oh, er we've only been here for 12 months" and "We've only been here 6 months". You know.'* (K2, 3)

In contrast Mike at Pebble Beach seemed to find it a lot easier to articulate the hotel image he sought to create, perhaps reflecting his very clear vision of his business concept. His own ideas about what guests want clearly come through his explanations, as does his evident disdain for the 'old' image he was seeking to expunge. Mike's sentiments are conveyed through the language he uses.

Mike explains his idea was to move away from 'Chintz Ville' exemplifying: *'I think I'm emulating the contemporary home. I don't think when people go to a hotel a lot of times they want a home from home experience. They don't live surrounded by chintz'* (P1, 3; P1, 12)

He added that: *'At Christmas we walked into chain-smoking cigarettes with the telly on so loud that you can't hear yourself think compared to where we think we will be in three years time when we've finished it'* (P1, 11)

Rich and Mike's accounts illustrate how an hotelier's values can be articulated through their business visions.

VALUE JUDGEMENTS IN ASSESSING GUEST SUITABILITY

Some hoteliers also revealed how their attitudes toward particular social groups could imply the values they held about these people. This was manifested in how hoteliers assessed the suitability (or not) of social groups to be guests in their hotels.

Attitudes to Social Groups

Two hoteliers gave examples of qualified approval of 'suitability'.

Ruby at Ankara: *'Before we were taking everybody. Now we can set our standards, what we want...So it means we get people of a certain standard really'* (AA, 3)

Hazel at Everdene: *'We've had quite a few gays last year. They're all right if they're normal but I wouldn't take the ones with chains and you know, Village People...I mean they're the pink pound aren't they? They've got money. And they're usually quite nice'* (EE, 5)

However, negative views toward some 'categories' of guest were more widespread. For example, Hazel at Everdene and Bert at Haydon Lodge both implied that they aspired to maintain a certain status in their hotels, with both using phrases alluding to 'snobbery' to explain their rejection of particular social groups. Hazel's feelings were revealed in her

mimicry of guests' accents, whilst Bert showed his mock indignation of contractors' behaviour.

Hazel: *'We've priced out the rubbish. Which sounds snobby but that's how it works. We don't want them and they don't want us...If someone phones up and says "Eh up mate, 'ave you gotta twin?" "No". It's a way of doing it politely because those blokes that want twin rooms might want to come back with their wives and girlfriends' (EE, 4)*

Bert explained that contractors *'...smoke like mad...take the opportunity to go out at night because they're "off the leash" (including) "grab a granny nights". Honestly!'* adding *'... without being snobbish or anything we try to judge' (H, 5)*

Sheila at Beechlands also revealed some disquiet about particular guests, when she seemed to feel it necessary to share this information about the previous owners.

'We didn't know, she didn't tell us, that she was taking in asylum seekers (B, 1)

Shirley at Jaydon and Donna at Violet Court voiced their feelings more directly, their language revealing their sentiments.

Shirley, referring to the previous owners: *'We believe that they took in quite a few drug addicts and ladies of the night...so we've had to get rid of that element' (J1, 5)*

Donna: *'I don't take anybody at the door who smells of drink. It's horrible really for them, it's just what they are, but unfortunately it's not the type of person that I want in my hotel because I don't want to have to go into the bedrooms and clear up after somebody I'm afraid ... We refuse to deal with the DSS...I know it's probably being prejudiced but it's a business and it's our home and I can't afford for other guests to be put off...there are places that take those type of people and I'm afraid that I don't see that holidaymaking guests or people in business mixing with them' (V, 7)*

Arbitrary Criteria

Hoteliers' attitudes toward guests could also be discerned through their use of somewhat arbitrary criteria to judge a guest's suitability. Most criteria had negative connotations, with one exception. This was how Heather at Zealands described a 'strange' guest.

Heather: *'Sounded very nicely spoken...obviously very well educated...obviously been privately educated I would have said, very nice, very intelligent...'* (Z2, 23)

The more 'negative' criteria used to judge prospective guests tended to focus on the guest's appearance, accoutrements and behaviour. For example Ruby at Kantara used the indicator of a *'black carrier bag'*. She explained (laughing):

'I mean the bags usually mean they've been thrown out of some other establishment, for some reason' (AA, 10)

In a similar vein, Shirley at Jaydon explained how she and Phil had learnt to select guests.

Shirley: *'Slowly but surely we started to realise that the way people were dressed, complexions and, I know it sounds silly, but bad teeth. Bad teeth usually means they're a drug case. Oh yes, and if they've got Boots carrier bags it means they've*

been in rehab and they give them Boots vouchers when they come out so they've always got a goody bag of Boots stuff' (J2, 4)

Shirley also used the guest's 'affordability' as a criterion for assessing suitability, after a fellow hotelier advised her:

' "If they cannot afford to pay you £20 for a room... they're not very nice people"' (J1, 10)

In contrast, Natalie at Royden Court looked for 'nervous' behaviour, explaining:

'It's very difficult, because someone can be in a suit and they can hide it very well. But at the end of the day, what you look for is if someone's nervous about something, they are suspicious, and they look away. Then they tend not to be honest' (R1, 3)

All these examples suggest that some hoteliers used indicators such as dress and behaviour to assess whether a guest was suitable, by attributing a value judgement based on what they saw. So for example, someone with a black bin bag was classified as homeless. It could be reasoned that an influencing factor here is that hoteliers have very little time in which to judge whether or not someone can be invited into their hotel, which is also their home. The significance of 'the home' to hoteliers will be explored in the next section of this chapter.

VALUE-SETS IMPLIED THROUGH VIEWS ABOUT INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

Hoteliers' values could also be inferred from remarks they made about people they considered to be 'different.' In these instances, the hotelier seemed to consider it appropriate, or necessary, to refer to a person's race, sexuality or culture. To what extent the remarks can be interpreted as projecting their inner feelings on these issues is a matter of conjecture. What I thought was interesting was that they felt it relevant to mention these issues at all.

Shirley and Phil at Jaydon, Max and Natalie at Royden Court, and Donna at Violet Court all made references to cultural difference, and through their descriptions, expressed or implied their feelings about their encounters with these particular people.

Shirley: *'We had a Spanish couple...they can't speak, well they can now, but they couldn't when they come...And there's a Polish chap, who couldn't even say hello when he come, had to bring an interpreter with him. Just makes it interesting'.* Husband Phil gave a somewhat different slant in his description of a Thai family: *'They kept saying "Oh in our country the vegetables are different"...Well, to talk to a foreigner, to explain to him...there's a guy in the chemist up the road of the same nationality and I said "Go up and speak to him"' (J1, 3; J2, 12)*

Max: *'Dealing with foreign people, they're very different. Well they can be. Some foreign people are so rude because the Italians are, well, they speak their minds, don't they? It's just the way they are'* and Natalie added, *'I've travelled round the world...and worked with all different nationalities. And different nationalities are different...So I think it's just learning the different cultures of different nationalities'* (R2, 10)

Donna: *'We had an orthodox Jewish family stay and this strict religion means they were very demanding on our time...I have to say we haven't had any more Orthodox Jews to stay, so I actually think I've got a bad reputation now!! For not being terribly friendly'* (V, 22)

'Race' featured in three accounts given by Terry at Woodley though in one case he said it was meant in jest, *'but only a little bit'*. He also added the caveat in one case that *'the fact that they were black doesn't make any difference'*, yet the mention of race featured prominently in his accounts, suggesting it might hold some significance for him. He also made an implied reference to social class in one account, describing a guest's father as *'BWM-driving'*. Again, what is intriguing is that he found it appropriate to mention this at all.

Terry about briefing young girl guests about not bringing boys back: *'The father said "My daughter wouldn't do that. My daughter's..." You know. And do you know something? BMW-driving "No, not my daughter", that night his daughter and his daughter's friend brought back two young black men. The fact that they were black doesn't make any difference, but I'm just saying that, you know'*. He added that later in their stay *'They came back in at five, this time with four black American men'* (W,6)

Terry describing a guest who turned out to be a drug dealer: *'This particular man ...turned up, black man, very polite, absolutely fine'* (W, 10)

Terry, referring to people he would not take: *'I am racist now. Liverpoolians I virtually will not take. You know, as soon as I hear...(mimics the accent), I don't think so. I don't think so, you know, really. If they're from Liverpool or my own home town of Glasgow, the answer is probably "No". Probably not. I mean that's said a little bit in jest, but only a little bit. If they're from Liverpool they're likely to kick off'* (W, 11)

Terry also graphically referred to the sexuality of a guest whose behaviour caused him a problem. His account reveals considerable emotion, through his unflattering description of the guest and also through his admission that on a gender basis he found her difficult to deal with, because he could *'never hit a woman'*. It is difficult to discern from this emotive account what were Terry's inner feelings here, but his account certainly seemed to suggest that he had some issues dealing with women, whether gay or straight.

Terry: *'And this was a bull dyke lesbian I have no hesitation in saying...she had bigger balls than me, I have no hesitation in saying'* but that *'I have never hit anyone in my adult life but I'd never hit woman...I can't manhandle a woman...I cannot do that. I cannot do that. I cannot lay a hand on a woman. Not possible'* (W, 8)

These references to race, cultural difference and sexuality may or may not stem from underlying feelings on these issues. What is curious is that these hoteliers mentioned them at all.

HOSTS' FEELINGS TOWARD/ PERCEPTIONS OF THE BUSINESS AS 'HOME'

Hoteliers' feelings about the hotel as a home seemed to derive from two perspectives; their feelings about the *idea* of whether the hotel could be a home, and their feelings about living in the hotel (or in their own accommodation within that) as a home, and to

what extent that experience 'felt' like 'home'. For both perspectives, hoteliers' sentiments tended to be 'positive' or 'negative' in tone, with some mixed views.

THE 'IDEA' OF THE HOTEL AS 'HOME'

The 'idea' of the hotel as a home drew some strong positive sentiments. Sheila at Beechlands, Phil at Jaydon and Sandra at Maple Lodge for example were all emphatic that they felt the hotel was a 'home' from the start.

Sheila: *'We came to see this one and it was "Oh yes I want it"...and Tom fell for it straight away. And I'd fallen for it' emphasising 'It's my home. And it is my home' (B, 1; B, 6)*

Phil: *'People say to us "Oh you are lucky to have this view" We're not lucky, we bought it. It wasn't coincidence was it?' (J1, 14)*

And Sandra enthused: *'I felt immediately at home here...and felt immediately that it was ours, it has a feeling about it' (M, 7).*

Rebecca at Chinedale, Marion at Newmount, and Natalie at Royden Court all went further, suggesting that the *idea* of the hotel as a home was reinforced through day-to-day hotel life.

Rebecca: *'It's my home. That's how we feel. We very much feel it's our home, every single room...we've put a lot of work in...we have actually done a lot of work in here' (C, 4).*

Marion was similarly emphatic: *'This is my home...they are coming in, although it is a hotel, they're coming in as guests in my home' (N, 3)*

And Natalie, that if things get damaged in the hotel: *'Yes for me that's an issue, it intermingles. Because it's our home and it's a guest house' (R1, 2)*

However, others showed less enthusiasm for the idea of the hotel being a home, though their reasons differed.

Celia at Brightsea: *'This place, this hotel...was a nightmare to walk into. When you're buying things and they say you look through rose coloured glasses, mine were jet black!' (BB, 1)*

And Derek described Quivern as a *'...nice big house...(with) sixteen rooms...It's different. It's a business. It's a business. It's not a house' (Q, 13).*

However, the strongest emotions that this issue evoked were most graphically expressed by Terry who felt he had 'no home' and that the hotel could 'never' be 'home'. Terry's account here shows the depth of emotional attachment the home can represent to an individual, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Terry at Woodley: *'I left a place that I loved...I left a house that I loved. And I have no home. I have no home. If I spend a million pounds on this place, when I come back, I do not come home. I come back to my business where I have a part...It will never and can never be home. It is impossible for it to be home. You can give it an illusion of home but it will not work...So you could say it's like living in a very noisy*

flat but when the tenants kick up you've got to go and sort it...I can't overestimate to you the vast, the personal cost of leaving a place I loved' (W, 18-23)

EXPERIENCING THE HOTEL AS 'HOME'

In terms of whether living in the hotel *felt* like 'home', Rich at Kamarillo and Donna at Violet Court for example explained how important it was for them that their 'home' or owner's accommodation afforded them 'space' from the business.

Rich: *'We are enjoying it now we're getting our accommodation somewhere near...because that's very important to us...It is nice to have that door where you can sort of, you know, after 9 o'clock that's it, sort of thing. You need your own time I think otherwise you would be on all the time' (K2, 7)*

And Donna: *'We are really very lucky here that we have our own home. We have a door that shuts us off, and when we shut that door we are in our own home and we're only, we're accessible by a bell which touch wood mostly people never ring...this is totally private where we live' (V, 3)*

In contrast, Sheila at Beechlands and Marion at Newmount revealed they had very little space to themselves but that this was not a problem for them.

Sheila: *'All I have is a bedroom...(and referring to the guest's lounge)...if nobody uses it I use it. But if people are in here I'm quite content to sit in my bedroom. It doesn't bother me' (B, 7)*

And Marion: *'I've got one room. I've got a cubby-hole under the stairs!' (said with much laughter and the caveat that she was 'perfectly content' with this arrangement) (N, 7)*

The importance some hoteliers attached to their own living arrangements was also reflected in their accounts of other 'bad' situations they had encountered.

Shirley at Jaydon explained that some hotels *'...were absolutely awful ...had got no accommodation at all for you...people pull down beds and what have you. We decided we're going to be comfortable...We got loads of space and we're comfortable' (J1, 15)*

Rich at Kamarillo drew comparisons with others: *'Like next door have only got one room that they live in...I couldn't do it, I couldn't do it, you know, you're cooking and living in that place...but you'll find a lot of the guest houses it's just one room for accommodation for themselves...the previous owners before, they lived in a caravan just outside, so every room...was a letting room' (K1, 3)*

Terry also described how the previous owners of Woodley had lived: *'I was told that a central reason for selling was "The kids couldn't take it"...And when you think that the girl would have been 11...and the lad would have been 13... having moved from a domestic house...Can you imagine a young girl...coming down to see her Mum and Dad at 9 o'clock, having to put on a dressing gown and...run the gauntlet of all these customers coming and going. And they're sleeping in the letting bedrooms and customers are coming back at half past four' (W, 1)*

And Terry offered a second example with some incredulity: *'I have seen hotels about this size where the owner's accommodation is one bedroom, nothing else. That was it. And I have seen large bedroom for the owner's accommodation, this is where mum and dad sleep and that's where their 25 year old son sleeps. Can you imagine, on an on-going basis?'* (W, 1)

Offering a different perspective, Vera at Yarmouth extolled the benefits of growing up in a hotel.

Vera recalled: *' Huge memories. Huge memories...so many stories. I had a very happy childhood in the hotel'* (Y, 3)

However for some the experience seemed to be less than satisfactory. Ruby at Ankara and Heather at Zealands alluded to the hotel/home hybrid adversely affecting family and social lives.

Ruby: *'I think we just adjusted really...I've got one son...a disabled daughter, and I've got another older son...So when we moved here they were all at school...they've obviously all grown up but yeah it was hard but we adjusted and I think we just got used to it. It's just become part of everyday life'*. However, she added: *'It's very difficult when you have friends round and things, we can't go to the dining room and have a meal where you would in a normal home, so obviously you adjust there'* (AA, 1)

Heather, about moving from a house to the hotel *'It took some getting used to'* and about her sons' use of the visitors' lounge, *'I'd never shut them out of there...as long as they sit properly, with their feet on the floor, and watch what the guests want to watch'* (Z1, 4)

Ruby, Heather, and Donna at Violet Court and Terry at Woodley also alluded to feeling disconcerted about having people in the hotel.

Ruby: *'I don't sleep very well...I think it's probably to do with the fact that I've got guests in the house anyway. But we've now changed our living accommodation so we're more self-contained, so it is easier to shut the door and we've got everything there...but sometimes you think "Oh, we can just go to bed". And I'm all right, I can go to bed for a few hours and then I have to get up and wander around for a while'* (AA, 13)

And Donna: *'The first six months ... was really hard, we'd hear every creak and noise in the house'* (V, 3)

And Terry: *'The advantage that you have is that as some level they know that you live here. At some level you don't have the option to say "Oh sod it" You don't have it, at some level'* (W, 9)

And Heather, about having 'strange' people in the hotel: *'You just don't know... we've got the three boys here, you know. It's their home. They don't want to be meeting these characters when they go to the loo in the night'* (Z2, 26)

MIXED SENTIMENTS

Yet other hoteliers presented a mixed picture as to how they felt about living in the hotel, which also constituted their home. Mary at Grasmere and Mark at Dalebourne for example, both owners of large family hotels, drew attention to how hotel life could provide the benefits of 'in-built' entertainment and facilities, but could also impact negatively on family life and relationships. Rebecca at Chinedale added the perspective of a small hotel.

Mary reported that her daughters had found it 'very hard' that, *'At different times they've said "Mother you gave us a private life and then you took it away". But there are also the plus sides...like for example, special occasions, I mean we've got an inbuilt facility'* (G,7)

And Mark recalled: *'Of course when they were younger it was a fabulous Christmas for them, because there were 80 or 90 people to celebrate with. And we had dancing in the evening and fancy dress parties, and you know, so actually there were pluses and minuses'* but added *'I can easily see how it disrupts family lives because if you have a working partner, wife, husband or whatever, then they typically would be off on a Saturday and a Sunday...so it's not easy'* (D, 3)

And Rebecca commented: *'...because of the environment we're in, and the fact that we live here and our home's here, at times it's frustrating, you just want a bit of peace and you can't have it...other times it works in your favour that you're able to carry on and do things and still work'* (C, 5)

Sandra at Maple Lodge and Chas at Chesildene recognised the benefits of having their own accommodation but also felt uncomfortable with the knowledge that 'the public' were in the hotel part of the premises.

Referring to their own accommodation, Sandra effused: *'Amazing, amazing...here we've got a big bedroom, a massive living room, our own bathroom and even a little kitchenette. So we thought we'd died and gone to heaven! So that's lovely, yeah.'* But that: *'The only thing we're a bit worried about is once you're in the flat and you've shut the door you can't see what's happening in the rest of the hotel. That's the only thing...I worry about it and the fact that we can't see what's going on'* (M, 8-9)

And Chas explained what he found difficult about adjusting to living in the hotel: *'That you don't have your own front door. It took me a long time to get used to the fact that you're living in the owner's accommodation but you no longer have a front door. There's always members of the public walking into your hall. It can be quite disturbing at night...'* (and) *'one of the things I did notice when I first moved into the property, is that when on one of my friends came to stay, as opposed to people I didn't know, I always got very sad when they left. So there was an emotional thing, yeah. But we, we've got sort of used to it. It's gone now But I do remember there was a feeling "Oh where's my home gone?"'* but added, *'We do feel we have a nice flat and a nice garden'* (CC, 3)

Bert at Haydon Lodge, Mike at Pebble Beach and Pam at Solent House all conveyed their ambivalence toward living in a home/hotel hybrid. Bert alluded to having mixed feelings about using a caravan for their own accommodation during the season, Mike recognised that the boundary between his business and personal 'space' could be 'blurred', and Pam

offered the interesting perspective that living in the hotel '*feels strange*' but '*doesn't feel wrong*'.

Bert: '*It isn't very satisfactory because in the summer we have to give up our room...we actually bought a caravan....which we've got in the garden....it works very well...we've only got to go out there to sleep at night...it doesn't worry me. The only thing that worries Angela is...she doesn't have a wardrobe. She has to keep moving her clothes around you know. That is the one thing she finds difficult. But because we're a small hotel we've got to use the rooms*' (H, 3)

Mike suggested that they think of their own accommodation and the business as separate '*...because my partner doesn't work here because she's got a separate job so there needs to be a boundary. But the boundary's blurred because the office is in the flat and I spend a lot of time sat there doing admin stuff, but yeah, there is that divide*' (P1, 4)

Finally, Pam reported that the camper van they used to go on holiday felt like '*home*' but that the hotel did not feel '*totally like work either*', that it was '*somewhere we live*', and that it '*feels strange...but it doesn't feel wrong*' (S, 11).

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter revealed four main aspects of the host-guest relationship where contextual emotionalities can shape how hosts experience that relationship.

HOSTS' FEELINGS ABOUT HOTEL OWNERSHIP

Three influences contributed to hosts' emotionalities here:

- Hosts' motives, including business focus, business and lifestyle, business for lifestyle, and creating a hotel identity
- Owners' comments about their feelings prior to ownership, which could be 'positive' where the choice was deliberate and long-held, but 'negative' where it was to avoid a worse option
- Owners' feelings about the experience of ownership, which could be 'good' if they enjoyed the work but 'frustrating' if it did not meet their expectations

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS AFFECTING WORKING IN THE BUSINESS

Three issues could evoke emotion in hotel owners here:

- Financial commitments, which could elicit heavy workloads, worries, and frustrations but also a determination to take control of the situation
- Support from others, which was generally positive regarding the help and friendship of other hoteliers, though partners and agencies could 'let you down'
- Industry changes evoked sadness at the changing landscape of holidaymaking, regret at the impersonal litigious culture, and indignation at not being graded

HOSTS' VALUES

Hosts articulated their values through their own standards and their behaviour toward others (such as compassion and egalitarianism), and their hotel identity (such as 'family-run' or 'contemporary').

Value judgements were employed to assess the appearance of guests using arbitrary criteria, and could be implied in owners' reference to individual differences such as culture, sexuality and race.

HOSTS' FEELINGS TOWARD, AND PERCEPTIONS OF, THE BUSINESS AS 'HOME'

Two aspects of the hotel as 'home' evoked owners' emotions; the 'idea' of the hotel as home, and the experience of the hotel as home.

- The 'idea' could be perceived positively (such as 'loving it'), and negatively (for example, that 'it can never be home')
- The experience evoked mixed reactions; for example, the enjoyment of 'shutting out the business' in the owners accommodation, but the unease of people being in the 'public' part of the hotel

Together these four dimensions of the host-guest relationship context shape the way that relationship is experienced by hotel owners, as depicted in the next two chapters.

Chapter 7

'EMOTION MANAGEMENT' IN CONSTRUCTING THE HOST-GUEST RELATIONSHIP

Four sub-themes emerged regarding how hoteliers in my study used emotion management to construct the host-guest relationship; defining who how is 'the guest', establishing host-guest interactions, and establishing boundaries of guest behaviour.

USING EMOTION MANAGEMENT TO DEFINE WHO IS THE 'GUEST'

Hoteliers in my study appeared to adopt two broad approaches in using emotion management to determine 'the guest' in the host-guest relationship; 'control' and 'negotiation'.

'CONTROLLING' WHO IS 'THE GUEST'

Feeling a need to control who is 'the guest' was illustrated by Ruby of Ankara and Shirley of Jaydon.

Ruby: *'I didn't realise, not being funny, there were so many mad people out there with so many problems'* (AA, 2)

Shirley: *'Although I felt I know how to deal with people, there's a lot more stranger people out there than what you think'* (J1, 4)

Hence not surprisingly a number of hoteliers sought to define 'the guest' through control measures such as exclusion, managing impressions, rules, eviction and matching the guest to the hotel identity.

Exclusion

At its most stark, this involved defining social groups that hoteliers considered 'unsuitable'. Here, a number cited party-goers/group bookings/clubbers as categories they would not take.

Derek at Quivern: *'The market here is very very restrictive...we won't take anybody going clubbing... we've got a policy...we just say "Well look we don't take single sex bookings"'* (Q, 3; Q, 16)

Derek's feelings toward 'clubbers' were evident in his language and his use of emphasis and with which others concurred.

Sandra at Maple Lodge: *'I mean no hotels normally want to take stag or hen nights'* (M, 2)

And Mark of Dalebourne: *'Certainly we tried desperately to avoid the single sex, you know the hen and stag parties'* (D, 11)

Some hoteliers had tried taking groups but the experience had led to a policy of exclusion, as Rebecca at Chinedale illustrated.

Rebecca: *'We will not take stag parties, we will not take hen parties. If...maybe four girls or four boys knock at the door we probably won't take them...We were*

caught out a few times early on...it turns out it's stag party...and you're up all night' (C, 3)

In contrast, others would take groups but only if they could 'control' their behaviour, as Mary at Grasmere and Ruby at Ankara report.

Mary: 'Normally for single sex groups we normally centre on activity breaks, we don't want the binge drinkers. They come in quite tired and are quite happy to go to bed' (G, 8)

Ruby: 'If I'm taking a group, I take over twenty's normally. I try not to go this side because they can be a bit...a little bit immature, in not considering other people...they're here for a week and it doesn't matter about anybody else' (AA, 15)

Hoteliers' values also shaped decisions to exclude, illustrated in Sean's apparent disdain toward 'riff raff'.

Sean: 'We don't take any riff raff anymore...it was a bad use of the term but what I really meant was not people who are scruffy and smoking and drinking, that sort of type' (A, 3-4)

Guest dynamics could also shape decisions about who to accept or exclude, as Derek at Quivern illustrates.

Derek: 'In the restaurant, they all know one another. They'll...have a laugh and...a joke. They're not sitting in the restaurant with contractors. There's not a van parked outside. They're all talking about what's going on at the beach...There's not someone talking about how they're going to put up some ducting across the ceiling...We don't have contractors' (Q, 7)

Sheila at Beechlands showed a similar concern about mixing guests.

Sheila: 'I try not to take children under 10 because I have an older generation of people and they don't really want children up at five or six o'clock in the morning. People like to come and relax and sit in the lounge' (B, 3)

However, financial constraints could limit the scope for exclusion policies and hoteliers' control, in the earlier years of tenure. This is graphically illustrated through Celia's accounts of her early experiences of owning Brightsea.

Celia: 'There were students in at the time and...First year students were a total nightmare...Some of them have never even left home before...So they come like lambs...And the transformation...within three or four weeks...is like incredible' (BB, 2)

She continued; 'The following year, reduced the students and I actually ran students and asylum seekers...I very cleverly managed to run them side-by-side. Then I got rid of students altogether and then took on asylum seekers. To my horror...I thought "Oh my God, I can't do this" ...so after about eighteen months of those, they came and went' (BB, 5)

Celia explained she reflected at this point: 'So, what am I going to do now? Because these guests are, you know like very few and far between, you know.'

And I'm taking anybody and everybody. Carrier bag people, drunks, the lot. Oh God. You had to. You would take anybody that knocked the door...I'm up two o'clock in the morning and chucking prostitutes out' (BB, 7)

She added: '...moving on from then, I thought "What am I going to do?" And then all of a sudden a few people started ringing me and they'd become a group booking. And they're called stags and hens. For my sins. So every weekend now I'm pretty full...And I decide' (BB, 13)

Emphasising her shift in autonomy over this period, Celia continued:

Celia: 'I mean I've got myself out of bed at two o'clock in the morning...I've gone past them days now...I can choose now who I have...at first I used to say "Oh, I'm terribly sorry"...Now I just say "I'm sorry, you've been drinking, you can't stay in this hotel" or..."I'm sorry, your clothing, you smell". Whatever. I don't give a damn anymore. I tell them the truth...Don't worry me...You know, I can handle anything...I can afford to' (BB, 16-17)

Celia's accounts here reveal how much she now feels 'in control' of the host-guest relationship, to the extent of feeling able to be very direct and honest in what she says to prospective guests.

Other hoteliers echoed Celia's experience of having little control over selection in the early days of their tenure and similarly reported how this had changed over time.

Derek at Quivern: 'We used to take anybody...It wasn't graded. We'd put everything into it, we had no money...we needed revenue' (Q, 3)

And Donna at Violet Court: 'The first six months or so...we did take in some very difficult people...when anyone came to the door we took them because we wanted the money' (V, 4)

Donna's observation of dealing with 'some very difficult people' implies a need to engage in emotion work to cope with such scenarios. This could be inferred as *hard* work when the hotelier would prefer not to take those guests. However, the 'needs must' sentiment conveyed here changed over time, with hoteliers appearing more 'in control' about deciding who is the guest.

Rich again: '...we can become more picky and choosy who we have through the door now' (K2, 4)

And Derek at Quivern: 'We turn an awful lot of business away...but it doesn't matter' (Q, 10)

And Max at Royden Court: 'We are in control if we want to be, over whom we choose to have here' (R2, 10)

Managing Impressions

A second 'control' measure hoteliers used was to judge guest suitability on the basis of their appearance, as Natalie of Royden Court and Pam at Solent House explain.

Natalie: *'If someone turned up to the door and they were off their face on alcohol and had a cigarette hanging out of their mouth then I would probably say "No, sorry this is the wrong hotel for you"'* (R2, 11)

Pam: *'I wouldn't take anyone who was the worse for wear...And single guys on their own...with no luggage. From the start if we didn't like the look of someone we wouldn't take them...I'm not saying we weren't desperate, but we weren't that desperate. And...it's a policy...certainly not deal with DSS, absolutely no'* (S, 5)

These accounts reveal how Pam and Natalie interpret 'unsuitable'. Pam's account also illustrates how a mix of business and lifestyle motives shape decisions about who is the guest, that *'we weren't that desperate'*.

Rich at Kamarillo also took a firm line on selecting guests but was a little more graphic in his explanation of judging 'acceptability'.

Rich: *'Well, if you've got a dirty little girl that comes to the door with a carrier bag and there's a car ticking over...you know, you know that she's a prostitute...it's as simple as that really. And...your social workers come knocking at the door, and round the corner they've got a lad stood there with a carrier bag, that's sniffing and you think "Oh no, I don't think so"...I think I'm a pretty good judge of people...You look for the signs. You know sort of, by looking at somebody what they're going to be like. I know that sounds awful to be so judgemental really but I think in this business you've got to be careful because at the end of the day you're bringing them into your home'* (K 2, 4)

Hence whilst taking a 'control' approach Rich also feels it is *'awful'* to be so judgemental, but reveals a key reason is that it is *'your home'* (K2, 4), reflecting the emotional significance of the 'home' as discussed in Chapter 4.

Rules

Another control measure was the use of 'rules' to implement exclusion policies, as illustrated in Ruby's unequivocal requirement for prospective guests to show some form of identification.

Ruby at Ankara: *'I say... "Can you show me some ID" and they say "Why" and I say "Well it's because it's the only way that I can allow you to have a room, and if you haven't got it well, I'm very sorry, but there are other hotels". So that's quite easy. Because sometimes someone will appear at the door and you think "I don't think I want to take you" and they'll say "Oh, but you've got vacancies" and so I'll think "Right, what can I say? What can I say?" And so "Oh, I've got a large family room" and they say "Oh, well I'll take that" and I say "Have you got ID?" and normally that's it'* (AA, 10)

Eviction

Yet other hoteliers found they had to evict guests they had accepted but later found to be unsuitable. Two examples in this study involved guests with personal hygiene issues. The effect this had on the hoteliers was evident in the way each described the problem, their disgust undisguised, both in their narratives and how they told these.

Hazel at Everdene: *'We had a resident when we first came here and she stank of BO. So we had to get rid of her...that was horrid. And there's a horrid man, Mr. X. Well, I don't take him anymore...He's horrible...he would leave slime on the pillows...you don't know what horrible things...people are horrible really'* (EE, 8)

Bert at Haydon Lodge: *'...we had chap ring up for his mother to stay for a few days, she was nearly ninety, but he said she was OK...he brought his mother to the door and the odour nearly knocked me over. And I thought "Oh dear"... "I'm not sure about this"... Well, about half an hour later you could smell it. And I had to go up and ask them to leave...I said "Look, I'm really sorry but this isn't appropriate. You should have taken your mum to a residential or a respite place. This is a private hotel with all sorts of guests in...I'm sorry, really". So they went...But oh it was awful...I felt very sorry for him but I think he was unfair. He wasn't straightforward when he booked'* (H, 13)

Bert's mixed feelings about evicting this guest are clear in his account; his antipathy to the hygiene problem, his concern for other guests, that he felt 'very sorry' for the son, but also felt the son was being 'unfair' (H, 13).

'NEGOTIATING' WHO IS 'THE GUEST'

Other hoteliers explained how they too exercised choice in deciding if a guest was 'acceptable', but their accounts suggested this was achieved more through a negotiated approach than by 'taking control.' Several strategies were employed here; 'judging and deciding', implementing decisions, fitting the hotel image, and fostering the 'ideal' guest.

'Judging' and 'Deciding'

Sheila at Beechlands recounted this exchange with a prospective guest who questioned whether her hotel was 'really clean'. In her account Sheila explains how she negotiated what she would offer the guest in the face of this challenge, and explains how the guest responded.

Sheila: *'I said "I tell you what, if you want to send a deposit...and you come and you look round and you're not happy, then I'll be more than welcome to give you the cash back...if you're not happy...But if I don't like the look of you when you turn up at my front door I hope you will give me the same respect I give you...And she says "Oh that's not very nice" and I says "Well imagine how I feel. I'm a small bed and breakfast...I run it myself. I clean the toilets I do everything. I don't ask anyone to do anything I can't do". She says "Oh all right"...She was OK when she come in. I said "Oh hello. Come and sit down. Have a cup of tea, have a biscuit and then I'll take you up and show you your rooms and then you can let me know if you're happy because...I'm quite happy for you to stay here" And she just laughed. But I've very protective, I'm very protective'* (B, 10)

Rather than assessing suitability against rigid criteria as in the control approach, a negotiated stance seemed to permit a degree of judgement as to a guest's relative suitability. One question hoteliers seemed to ask themselves was whether the guest might cause them extra work, as illustrated by Shirley at Jaydon.

Shirley: *'...we got a phone call, somebody wanted to book a room for a week...when I asked for a mobile number, he said "Oh, just put my name down, B at the Shelter in Boscombe". Well, the Shelter is for homeless people, right? So he*

obviously heard the change in my voice “No, no...he’s perfectly all right. He’s a disabled chap”. I said “You can’t bring a disabled man here...It’s an old Victorian house, it’s full of stairs“... “Oh no, it’ll be all right, it’ll be all right”...I should have said “No this is not suitable” but because I’m a softie, I thought...so we put him in these little rooms...And he was a pain in the neck...every other word was “Well, I’m disabled, you’d think they would have done that for me” (J1, 9)

Shirley’s account reveals that not only did the guest cause her considerable work but she chided herself for not being ‘strong enough’ to refuse him.

However, making such decisions is not easy. Mike at Pebble Beach drew attention to the practical difficulty of making a judgement in just a few seconds.

Mike: ‘...sometimes when someone knocks at the door you get five to ten seconds to decide you trust that person or not...I look at how they look, who they are with, do they have any luggage, are they pissed...have they been high on crack all night...you get a very short period of time and generally you can come out with a question...“Is it just for you?”...and even though we’re skint, we desperately need the money because we’re a new business, then no, I’d turn people away...It is tricky especially if you have a sign up the front saying “vacancies”...You’re conscious of the fact, I suppose because there is an element of that you live here as well, you don’t want any problems. But you just don’t want the wrong sort of person in the hotel’ (P1, 7-8)

Rebecca at Chinedale echoed this sentiment, candidly admitting her ‘fear’ of answering the door and reluctance to make a ‘wrong’ decision that would make her feel ‘dreadful’.

Rebecca: ‘I don’t like answering the door. I absolutely hate answering the door because I’ve got to make a decision and sometimes I don’t make the right decision and then I think I feel dreadful if I’ve let someone in who then causes a problem or whatever’ (C, 14)

However, others suggested that their ability to assess guest suitability improved with experience.

Judy at Eastleigh: ‘...with twenty years experience you can hear the person at the other end of the phone might not be the ideal guest for this establishment and you say “I’m sorry, I’m full”...let’s put it this way, we don’t take everybody who knocks at the door. We can afford to be selective’ (E, 3)

Derek too recalled how they were naive in the early days: ‘We had a guy once booked in...a double room...and he said “Oh it’s not for me”...it was very very early on and it was a local prostitute and something she’d picked up...we didn’t have a clue’. However, he added that with the benefit of experience ‘Now we’re very coy. We’re very coy’ (Q, 15)

Implementing Decisions

Telling a guest whether or not he or she can stay took various forms; ‘telling it straight’, using ‘ruses’ and ‘excuses’, and trusting one’s ‘gut instinct’. Some hoteliers, like Terry at Woodley adopted the first ‘direct’ approach.

Terry: *'Certainly at the door but also by phone, I attune my ear to who's calling me...I very often ask people how old they are. And I say "I'm sorry we deal with an older crowd here". I just tell them that'* (W, 3)

Phil at Jaydon exemplified refusal of a different kind.

Phil: *'One night...another offered me fifty quid for a room and I said "No, you can see the light of the hotel over there...you go over there". We turned the light off and put a full sign on the door'* (J1, 19)

However, for others who were not comfortable with being so direct, the use of ruses and excuses seemed a familiar ploy, as illustrated by these examples.

Judy at Eastleigh: *'If people come through the door smelling of alcohol, then rooms that might have been available as you opened the door to them aren't available, because those people will...wet the bed or trash the room...so we don't take those sort of people'* (E, 3)

And Derek at Quivern: *'Some people get irate at the door, especially on Bank Holiday weekends when we're the only hotel got accommodation...sometimes it's just not worth putting the vacancies sign up because you're going to get the world and his family coming along. We don't want them, most of them. We'd rather tick along with what we've got'* (Q, 16)

And Donna at Violet Court: *'I will be nice and polite and probably offer them a price that's too expensive for them'* (V, 5)

Nonetheless, in some cases, 'mistakes' were made where the hotelier felt his or her judgement was unsound.

Donna again: *'I have got caught out and I really did get caught out...I got a lot more money for the room than I would have done and the person didn't actually damage the room, they were just a little bit unpleasant'* (V, 5)

So in this instance Donna seemed satisfied that she had made some money from this incident and was pleased that no damage had occurred. However, it was clear as she recalled this example that the unpleasantness of the guest had unsettled her. However, this sense of unease was even more evident in her second example.

Donna: *'A guy checked in...for a double with single occupancy and he paid me accordingly...And as I showed him into the room I don't know, something just made me think "I've made a mistake here. I don't know that I particularly want this guy"'* (V, 16)

Donna's sense of unease suggests a certain reliance on 'gut instinct', which was even more evident in this account from Natalie at Royden Court in which she explains not only going with her 'gut instinct' but also using the 'ruse' of a higher price. Natalie's interaction with the guests contributed to her feelings of unease, and their subsequent behaviour elsewhere validated her 'gut' instinct.

Natalie: *'...a couple...came round and the only thing that made me feel a bit uneasy...was they said everywhere was booked up which I knew was not true. They had no car. And she was in front of the guy, so I didn't really see him. And*

when they came in, it was just an awful sick feeling in my stomach, thinking “What have I done? I’ve invited these people into the house” and I just felt so uncomfortable, he just sent that vibe off to me. They were saying they had tried every hotel and everyone’s booked up. And I thought “Every hotel?” but I offered them a price and they didn’t want it, that it was too expensive. And he turned out to be a dug addict’. And Max added, ‘They ended up staying up the road. And they trashed the room’ (R1, 3)

Other hoteliers seemed to trust their ‘gut instinct’ suggesting a mix of intrapsychic and interpersonal emotion shaping their decisions about those guests. Rebecca at Chinedale for example drew on experience, knowing what ‘signs’ to look for, in order to make a judgement about prospective guests, but also trusted her ‘gut feeling’.

Rebecca: ‘We do assess the guest as much as you can and make a judgement and if your gut reaction says “No, I don’t think so”...if something tells you on the door when you answer the door, then “No”...It might be just the group size...that they look as though they’ve had a few too many...the way the talk to you – things like that. You’ve just got to make a judgement. If they come very very early in the morning or very very late at night, you’re suspicious’ (C, 3)

Donna at Violet Court similarly expressed faith in her ‘gut’ feel: ‘I’ve always learned over the years that OK you shouldn’t judge a book by its cover but the gut feeling is something you should always go with, and very often I will make a judgement by the time I’ve opened the door and normally my gut feeling then as I open the door will be correct...so for example, not to have the particular room that the person’s after, and normally we’ve been right. Occasionally not, you can’t always judge somebody but I would always go with my gut feeling if its saying to me “Don’t take this person”, I won’t take them now. It doesn’t matter who’s at the door’ (V, 5)

Fitting the Hotel Image

For other hoteliers, a negotiated approach meant assessing the suitability of prospective guests against the potential commercial benefit they might bring. Mike at Pebble Beach illustrates how he weighed up the pros and cons of taking ‘party’ guests.

Mike: ‘Stag parties is a tricky one...our long-term target market isn’t stag and hen parties but there is without doubt a demand and a significant amount of money to be made by looking after them...but in the long term, no. They cause too much upset to the other guests, but what they are good for is that they spend a lot of money’ (P1, 8)

Mike clearly revealed his concern about guest dynamics, that stag parties could ‘upset’ other guests, but is nonetheless tempted by the income they generate.

Fostering the ‘Ideal’ Guest

Another negotiated approach was the antithesis of an exclusion policy, where some hoteliers positively fostered or encouraged particular groups as guests. Sheila at Beechlands for example expressed pleasure at having her ‘regulars’.

Sheila: ‘I’ve got all my regulars. And I have got regulars what come for two weeks at a time, which is such a bonus, it’s lovely’ (B, 3)

Large family hotels also fostered a regular clientele. Jenny at Farley Court compared her own hotel with a neighbouring competitor.

Jenny: '*...our sort of people do come back... we try and run it on a personal basis...The customers they are going for are not necessarily repeat customers and they're not giving personal service*'. However, she added about her own clientele: '*But those sort of people are still declining*' (F, 3-5)

However, Mark at Dalebourne revealed both the pleasures and problems of a regular clientele.

Mark: '*We used to have sort of groups of friends in the hotel who met often....And sometimes they could become dominating, and if you wanted to be critical you would say "Oh, always that clique who are always at the Dalebourne" but of course a clique is actually a group of close friends...as they'd arrive there'd be great greetings in the lounge and all around the bar and this sort of thing...people could join in or not join in as they wished. But we could see that sometimes it could become difficult where it seemed that everybody in the hotel had been there for years. And somebody new might not take to that atmosphere or not...There's not really very much you can do. You can't ask your guests "Do talk to those please" or something like that...As I said, I think one man's clique is another man's group of friends*' (D, 4-5)

Mark's account highlights the issues that can arise with a 'relational' approach to providing hospitality and implies a certain 'helplessness' or reluctance to manage the guest dynamics that can ensue.

Other hoteliers seemed to try to 'match' their guests to the image they sought to portray. Rich at Kamarillo for example tried to attract a particular market, his emphasis in this account conveying how important this is to him.

Rich: '*...the people that we get now are professional people and holidaymakers so that's what we want really*'. He further explained how he would like to develop 'repeat' business, his enthusiasm clear from the language he uses: '*...we would like to yeah yeah. We look at some of the other hotels... and they've been saying you know we've got so-and-so back this year...they've been with us now for six years. And I'd love that. It would be so nice*' (K1, 10; K2, 1)

However, such strategies were not always successful. Sandra at Maple Lodge could not hide her disappointment at not attracting guests who aligned with the image she wanted to cultivate, her underlying values evident in her comment.

Sandra: '*I suppose I expected a better class of people here, but it's not proving to be like that. So I think in general I had better people at Southbourne*' (M, 3).

In contrast, Mike's attempts to change the culture of Pebble Beach appeared to be working, where '*East-Enders at full blast*' had been supplanted by '*nice gentle music*'.

Mike: '*We have a style kind of target market...the clientele that I would want they would much rather come in here for an espresso and read the paper, nice gentle music in the background; they would prefer that, than coming in and watching Eastenders at full blast*'. He expressed his surprise and delight at achieving that:

'We've been surprised at how we've been able to target the sort of people we want. We've had professional couples 25 to 55 wanting the sort of thing we have on offer...yes, it's been great' (P1, 3; P1, 13; P2, 1)

Pam and husband Martin at Solent House liked to attract people who liked similar things to them, which Pam suggested was *'nice'* and *'works well'*.

Pam: *'...we try to attract party people at the weekend because we like it; they play our sort of music...it's nice for us to see people enjoying themselves...it works well' (S, 9)*

Yet other hoteliers implied a more pragmatic interpretation of the 'ideal 'guest' as those who created the least 'housework'. For example Ruby and Shirley implied that they would like to reduce the burden of housework, which arguably would avoid the emotion work needed to cope with that.

Ruby at Ankara: *'The ideal would be to have people in for a week at a time...that would limit my laundry and make things easier for me...that's what we'd like' (AA, 6)*

And Shirley at Jaydon preferred: *'...contractors...because they go to work at half past six in the morning, they come home at seven/eight o'clock at nights...and go back out to go and have something to eat. So you really don't see them' (J2, 1)*

And finally, to close this section, the following comments capture the pleasures that 'suitable' guests can bring to the host-guest relationship.

Ruby at Ankara: *'The majority of people are really really nice, yeah. On their way, either going somewhere, doing something, here for a reason, or whatever' (AA, 5)*

And Bert at Haydon Lodge: *'We have been very very lucky because in all the time we've been here we've mainly had really nice people' (H, 3)*

And Donna at Violet Court: *'Probably 98% of our guests are lovely. Fortunately' (V, 19)*

USING EMOTION MANAGEMENT TO ESTABLISH HOST-GUEST INTERACTIONS

Four sub-themes emerged from my data here; hosts' feelings toward the host-guest relationship, the roles they prefer to adopt, hosts' experiences of interacting with guests, and hosts' perceptions of how guests view the host-guest relationship.

HOSTS' FEELINGS TOWARD THE HOST-GUEST 'RELATIONSHIP'

A Host-Guest Relationship?

I was first interested to discover the extent to which hoteliers considered the host-guest relationship as a 'relationship'. Owners of two hotels presented contrasting views about this. For Natalie and Max at Royden Court, the notion of a relationship did not seem to be in question.

Natalie: *'People respect you more if you interact with them'* and Max: *'...as soon as you start introducing extra things, extra costs, that's when things start to change and they know it's a business and it ruins the relationship'* (R2, 7-8)

In contrast, Chas at Chesildene rejected the idea of a 'relationship' as a '*chimera*' (CC, 7), explaining:

'I think that's a chimera to be honest...we've developed a kind of rapport, which is fine...you get some interesting conversations... But "relationship"...I do not try to pursue relationships with people...I'll be friendly and polite, right? And if a conversation might transpire what will be OK...I would say "relationship" is completely the wrong idea...I know exactly what you mean. And actually when I stay in bed and breakfasts of this kind and you get that, a person trying to create a relationship with you, it really turns me off' (CC, 7)

Chas clearly rejected any notion of 'relational' hospitality adding that he himself would feel '*turned off*' by it.

Host-Guest Interactions

However, in common with other hoteliers, the notion of host-guest interactions was something Chas recognised, albeit somewhat reluctantly.

Chas: *'I suddenly thought" Oh my God, what have we let ourselves in for?"...I realised that we went from a situation where we were renting a property which requires just signing an agreement to a situation where you're going into an agreement with somebody almost every day'* (CC, 2)

Two other hoteliers agreed that interacting with guests was required, but differed in terms of how 'central' they felt it was to the job. Anne at Xanadu for example suggested it was '*part of the job*,' that you '*have to*' do it, and that it could be '*hard*', implying she was committed to doing this but that it was not necessarily an 'easy' activity.

Anne: *'I mean you talk to guests, that's part of the job. You do this because you like talking to people...it's hard but when it's yours you have to. But when you have a hotel that's what it's about'* (X, 2- 4)

In contrast, the owners of Ainsley agreed that interacting with guests was part of the job, but considered that they are '*not in the business just to interact with people*' (A, 8), implying that they accepted it had to be done, but within the limits of a commercial operation.

Jon: *'You're not in business just to interact with people. There's so many other things you have to do'* adding candidly '*I mean when they go on about their family and days out, I mean we're really not interested in listening to how they've spent their day'* (A, 8)

Jon and Sean's honest descriptions here suggest that they have to feign interest in their interactions with guests.

Informality

I was then interested to find out how hoteliers approached this 'relationship'. 'Informality' was a common theme that emerged, although hoteliers also revealed considerable sensitivity about not assuming that this would necessarily be acceptable to the guest. Hence there was a sense of 'asking permission' to be informal. Age, not surprisingly, seemed to be an influencing factor here, as Donna at Violet Court explained.

Donna: *'We're very informal with people unless they are specific. I mean quite a lot of elderly people always introduce themselves as Mr. and Mrs. And then I will respect that but invariably if they're here a couple of days they'll hear me in the dining room calling everybody by their first names and chatting and then they'll say "Oh would you like to call me whatever"' (V, 7)*

Bert at Haydon Lodge echoed this view, about using first names: *'We try to, if they want to. I mean they often make the first move and say like "I'm Fred and this is Edith"...But a small minority is still formal, so it's Mr. Smith...But the majority of our clients are first name terms. And they always call us by our first names, that's how we present it' (H, 7)*

Respect for guests was clear in these accounts. Marion at Newmount expressed a similar sentiment, her values evident here.

Marion: *'...older people, it's better to call them Mr. or Mrs. to start with and if they are comfortable with that, that's fine, but a lot of them say "Oh, my name is such-and-such"...You've got to be given permission to call people by their first name...my children would never dream of calling a guest by their first name, an older guest...because of the way they've been brought up...it's just good manners...It's respecting people' (N, 5)*

Sean at Ainsley revealed similar values in seeking 'permission' to be informal.

Sean: *'We usually try to be fairly informal and use first names and say "Do you mind?"...and that gives them a feeling of friendliness' (A, 5)*

However, such informality was not the sole province of the small hotel. Mark at Dalebourne adopted a similar approach, 'allowing' informality to evolve.

Mark, about how he liked to come across to guests: *'I hope informal...that sort of atmosphere' And first names terms ? 'Yes...and then it's one of these weird things isn't it, it's like when do you start calling your uncle and aunt, Bill and Freda ? And so it would evolve...there were people at the very end, after twenty years...who I would still call Mr. and Mrs. But there were many many others who I'd address by Christian names' (D, 7-8)*

Associations with 'Home'

Other hoteliers were more concerned with creating a particular atmosphere, described variously as 'relaxed', 'welcoming', 'friendly', and sometimes, 'homely'. For Rich at Kamarillo, this was integral to what it was to be a small hotel and a reason why guests chose to stay there. It is clear here how he wants guest to feel.

Rich: *'I think you find that with smaller guest houses. I think that's why a lot of people will stay in them...people that have booked into the Travel Lodge...said "Gosh, you know it's so impersonal. We want to feel as though it's...that we're made welcome and it's not just 'Here's your key, goodbye, here's your room' sort of thing"...We want to feel as though people feel at ease here, and you can relax'* (K1, 8)

Mike at Pebble Beach concurred.

Mike: *'I feel people feel more relaxed...in small hotels...a big hotel where it's much more formal, they act in a certain way. I don't think they're so relaxed as in a small hotel'* (P1, 5)

For other hoteliers, the desire was to not only make guest feel relaxed but 'at home', as Derek at Quivern illustrated.

Derek: *'If it really is family-friendly...then they've got to feel at home. They've got to feel relaxed, they've got to feel they're not intruding'* (Q, 1)

Similarly, Natalie at Royden Court and Donna at Violet Court wanted guests to feel 'at home'.

Natalie: *'...we feel the business is about trying to make guests feel at home'* (R2, 7)

Donna: *'I wanted them to feel at home'* (V, 6)

However, not everyone shared this view, as Pam at Solent House emphatically expressed.

Pam: *'I hate the word "homely". No, I wouldn't say "home from home". But we want people to feel relaxed definitely'* (S, 3)

'Knowing' the Guest

In terms of physically interacting with guests, hoteliers revealed a wide range of feelings toward this, from a fairly 'deliberate' strategy to a more negotiated approach. Rebecca at Chinedale reflects the former in this view.

Rebecca: *'We really do try to really get to know people and make them feel like we're friends to them'* (C, 18)

Rebecca's use of the phrase '*friends to*' rather than '*friends with*' suggests a sense of defining a 'boundary' to the 'relationship.' Though not echoing Rebecca's wish to be 'friends', Pam at Solent House concurred that guests do '*get to know the owners*' in a small hotel setting.

Pam: *'I think people...in a smaller hotel...you get to know the owners, people chat with them'* (S, 2)

However, as Jenny at Farley Court pointed out, this also happened in large hotels such as hers. She reported how elderly guests in particular liked to 'get to know' the owners and staff, but that younger guests did not necessarily want the same involvement.

Jenny: *'I know what my son would be like...He wouldn't want people to start asking him personal questions. But we've got people here who are in their sixties/seventies who tell you all about their family how their daughter's got divorced and you've probably never even met the daughter but they want to off-load it to somebody and that's the sort of client in that age bracket, very very much so'* (F, 4)

Mike at Pebble Beach encouraged guests to get to know him and his wife Fay, but his style was somewhat different. He felt it was important to be 'honest' with guests and that in that context was very open about their hotel development project, that it was '*work in progress*'.

Mike, about what he thinks is important in interacting with guests: *'Honesty...I've talked about what we're doing here to anyone who'd listen...We get them to buy into the project, the whole idea...I have just talked to people relentlessly and they have been genuinely interested...we tell them about costs and why we can't afford some things and so on, that it's "work in progress" and we hope they will come back again...we may tone it down a bit next year, not be quite so apologetic'* (P2, 1)

Sandra's approach at Maple Lodge implied a more instrumental approach, as revealed in this comment.

Sandra: *'The thing is this year, we need to get to know the guests while we've got the time to be friendly with them. So with my daughter and her partner, we'll take it in turns getting to know people'* (M, 3)

It was also apparent that co-owners could differ in how they approached guest interactions, reflecting how their different personalities could influence their role preferences.

Jon at Ainsley: *'We...follow a line of questioning. We do it through questioning'* with Sean adding: *'We try not to interact too much if people ring the service bell, that's fine, we will see them, but otherwise, no'*. However, Jon countered, *'Well I do, I do. I mean I'm usually more front-of-house...I do talk to them as much as I can, depending on how much they want to give away and how much they want to talk about themselves...I'm pretty good at sussing them out really'*. And Sean added *'...he's always been more sociable...I call Jon if they want to complain. I'm the bad cop!'* (A, 4-5)

Use of Symbolism

Another way in which hoteliers described how they interacted with guests was through various references to activities that brought a 'personal' touch to the encounter. One example was remembering details about the guest. However, as the following comments suggest, sometimes a degree of commercialism lay behind this approach.

Hazel from Everdene for example, commented *'I mean I remember things about them...I'm quite good at remembering that sort of thing...They'll say "Oh it's so and so" and I say "Oh, from Littlehampton" And they love that...and like we always send a Christmas card. That's really good, that really gets them back'* (EE, 14)

Sandra at Maple Lodge revealed similar sentiments.

Sandra: *'I mean we had like guests and...my husband's remembered them when they've rebooked and asks "How's little Sammy?" And he was so impressed that we've remembered the name and that counts for a lot'* (M, 6)

However, Bert at Haydon Lodge, Donna at Violet Court, and Derek at Quivern all conveyed the impression that these 'personal touches' were done for 'genuine' motives, suggesting a hospitable approach.

Bert: *'We always remember them...if somebody rang up...I'd probably remember them...it's nice...we remember everybody'* (H, 11)

Donna: *'...our own regular guests that we've made feel that they want to come back and they send Christmas cards to us...they'll let us know different things if something's happened in the family, so that's quite nice'* (V, 6)

Derek: *'They're not just a number they're all known by their names'* (Q, 7)

A 'personal' dimension was also clearly important in large family hotels too, as Mark at Dalebourne and Vera at Yarmouth recalled.

Mark: *'...it was personal letters...it was always a personal letter in the sense that I would sign it, individually'* (D, 6)

And Vera: *'I think hotels, going back, were far more personal than they are now. Very much so...It's natural, when you've had something for so long it is part of your family, it's very personal'* (Y, 6 –7)

However, for large corporate hotels, achieving a 'personal' touch appeared more challenging, as Duty Manager Simon of Durley Dunes revealed here. Whilst there can be attempts to emulate 'personal' elements in the host-guest interaction, there was a recognition that staff cannot know every guest personally.

Simon: *'We make it as personal as possible...we learn the guest's name and we get to know what the guest wants...There's kinds of things we do have in place...that would make guests feel more valued...So when they stay so many nights we put a fruit bowl and when they've stayed twenty five nights, it's something else, and fifty, it's something else. And the card is signed by the whole team, to make them feel...We do do that personally. I do believe we have that personal touch but this is just a way to make sure we have it. Because we can't know every one personally so we make it as personal as we can by setting standards...to make that personal touch'* (DD,3; DD, 11)

HOSTS' ROLES

Hoteliers used a variety of descriptors to convey how they liked to be perceived in the host-guest relationship.

Host

Derek at Quivern and Terry at Woodley used the term 'host'.

Derek: *'We introduce people when they come into the lounge...we're a host to them'* (Q, 9)

Terry: *'I want them to feel they have got a host. I even have it on my card. It doesn't say "proprietor". I hate that word. It's very Fawlty Towers to me...my mission is to be a host...I want them to feel my enthusiasm. I want to feel that they can count on me and rely on me and that if they get any stuff that I will sort it out'* (W, 21)

However, another perspective of being the 'host' could be that guests expected to 'see' the owner, often with the expectation of personal service, as explained by Vera at Yarmouth.

Vera: *'They expect to see you, if they come and you're on holiday you can expect the next time they come they will say "We didn't see you"...They like to see you. They like to be greeted and remembered'* (Y, 7)

However, some hoteliers imposed this expectation of 'being seen' upon themselves. As Mike at Pebble Beach explained, he did this to compensate for the '*limitations of the rooms*' whilst he was renovating the hotel.

Mike: *'From the moment they call, to when they get here, to who serves them at breakfast and who sees them off, they see me...I'll come out and have a chat and people feel...that's a lot more comfortable...Because of the limitations of the rooms...we have had to over compensate on the personal service. And that means me...which has been hard work. I've had to focus on the things I can change. For now'* (P2, 7)

It was clear that the approach Mike described here was integral to his business plan but that the effort he had demanded of himself had been 'hard work'.

Professionals and Owners

'Professional' was a description that Hazel at Everdene attributed to her husband Ricky, and Natalie at Royden Court applied to herself.

Hazel: *'...he's professional...Ricky does it all properly'* (EE, 13)

And Natalie: *'For me personally, I would like people to think I'm professional'* (R1, 1)

Yet others alluded to their ownership role.

Sheila at Beechlands: *'I don't...run it properly. I'm hoping ...I'll be a lot better business woman than I am now because I run it like a friendly business, I don't run it as a business'* (B, 7)

Bert at Haydon Lodge: *'It's probably a mixture of an actual hotelier and friends'* (H, 7)

Pam at Solent House: *'We see ourselves as hotel owners I suppose'* (S, 9)

Offering a large hotel perspective, Mary at Grasmere explained what role she expected her staff to adopt.

Mary: *'...I always say to my receptionists..."You're my ambassador. When you're behind the desk, people should be talking to you as they would be talking to me. And if you have any difficulties, call me. I never mind coming down and talking to the guest"' (G, 5)*

Mary's view here reflects her egalitarian values that guests should treat staff with the same respect as they would the owners, expressed here through phrases such as 'my ambassador' and 'as they would be talking to me'.

Friendly

In terms of the *style* of interaction hoteliers adopted, a number suggested they wanted to appear 'friendly' and 'welcoming'. Ruby at Ankara, for example like guests to perceive her as:

'Hopefully friendly and attentive. Accommodating...And easy going' (AA, 6)

And Shirley at Jaydon wanted to be seen as: *'Hopefully...friendly yes'* (J1, 12)

Donna at Violet Court echoed this view: *'I thought as long as I made people feel that I was friendly when they came in'* (V, 6)

Terry at Woodley was even more emphatic about how he wanted guests to feel: *'I have a mission with customers. I have a mission to make the difference...I want them to get a welcome when they turn up to this hotel. I want them to feel welcome'* (W, 21)

A friendly approach also seemed important in large family hotels, as Mary at Grasmere and Jenny at Farley Court reported.

Mary: *'I do try as best I can to get reception staff to be very welcoming and to talk to the guests, and they do. People say that we're a very friendly hotel...I always say...particularly to young receptionists who perhaps come to me at 16 or so and they're very reticent and they actually give the impression of being unfriendly. But it's not, it's lack of confidence. And I always say to them...a lot of people walk through our doors are terrified, and they are probably more scared than you are. And you have got to make them feel at home and you have got to make them feel as if you are the first person they want to see and the last person they want to see, so it's the first impression and the last impression'* (G, 1-2)

Jenny similarly referred to the importance of staff being friendly, but alluded to the importance of recruiting the 'right' personality to achieve this.

Jenny: *'I think it's just the person. We've got some very very friendly staff...we do try to recruit youngish friendly staff, we think that's more important than being actually experienced. To be a friendly, the right sort of personality'* (F, 8)

Professional and Friendly

Other hoteliers liked their interactions with guests to be seen as 'professional', but emphasised being 'friendly' too. Rebecca at Chinedale for example liked to be seen as:

'Probably professional in terms of that they get good service, everything runs smoothly where it should...But they also get that touch where we know them...They like that. So they get that. They see you as someone who is friendly, approachable' (C, 13)

Sandra at Maple Lodge also implied a mix of being 'professional' and 'friendly'.

Sandra: 'I want us to look professional...like a bigger hotel. A lot of people...don't like the impersonal big hotels...a lot of people like the friendliness' (M, 2)

This view was echoed by Rich at Kamarillo: *'I suppose we try to come across as professional as we can...I think if you come across friendly, and try and make people as comfortable as you can...We want it so that people can feel...that they are...getting a good service and...being looked after' (K1, 7)*

Sandra went on to try to explain what she meant by 'professional'.

Sandra: 'It's hard to put it into words really...(to) feel special...that's important, that's one of the biggest things in a hotel, making guests feel special' (M, 6)

Mike at Pebble Beach too felt he adopted a mix of approaches, professional and informal, with the boundaries between the two sometimes becoming blurred.

Mike: 'I'm a very informal character...and there's probably a boundary between professionalism and informality I suppose and that boundary might get blurred sometimes, calling people by their first names...my natural approach is to be very warm, chatty and most people in this type of market appreciate that. You know "Hi, come on in, how are you?" And I chat in an informal way. I don't open the door and say "Good morning Sir. Welcome to the Pebble Beach Hotel. Please take a seat". Obviously I would talk to them like a friend I support; that's naturally my style and I think we'll become known for that' (P1, 5)

Caring

Another sentiment that clearly emerged from my data was how some hoteliers felt 'responsible' for guests' safety and welfare. Ruby at Ankara and Sheila at Beechlands for example, wanted to know people are 'back safe'.

Ruby: 'Some of them...they're older and you worry they go to the pub and that, and you worry "Oh, I hope he got back all right" Elderly people' (AA, 14)

And Sheila: 'I'm a very light sleeper...and I usually like to know everybody's in' (B, 5)

Hazel at Everdene starkly illustrated this sense of responsibility in the care she extended to elderly clients.

Hazel: *'We have once or twice gone up to rooms to check that somebody's not dead, if they've not appeared for breakfast...And we've had a few we've called the doctor' (EE, 15)*

However, some hosts went to extraordinary lengths to 'look after' the guest. When a soldier guest said a bomb had exploded nearby, Phil at Jaydon took this at face value and investigated, even though it turned out that the soldier had experienced a flashback.

Phil: *'I'm sitting up, I've got everything, every blinking channel, sky news, whatever, to find out what's going on...Nothing, nothing. So I finally went to sleep about half five, six o'clock...' and Shirley added: 'So he sat up all night watching the news, going through all the dilemmas of life, what we're going to do, what we're going to do' (J1, 16)*

These actions by hoteliers suggest a certain degree of philanthropic emotion management, though in the case of Phil and Shirley not without some consequences for themselves. Both clearly invested considerable emotion work in worrying about this guest and *'going through all the dilemmas of life'* to ensure his safety.

'Surrogacy'

A final example of host roles that I identified was that sometimes 'surrogate' roles could emerge or be expected of a host. For example Celia at Brightsea explained how she became an *'unpaid social worker'*, the term 'unpaid' implying that she did this somewhat reluctantly. However, she also seemed to empathise with the post-care clients involved, seeing herself as *'a bit of a Mother Theresa'*.

Celia, about the Council's expectations of her in taking post-care clients: *'So I became an unpaid social worker...I felt a little bit sorry for the people. I felt sorry for the social worker. And then even more so, I felt sorry for myself. As a young sixteen year old...I was told where I was to go from a council place...I drew on a lot of my own experience and I had a lot of empathy for these young people. So I guess I sort of looked at it as a bit of a Mother Theresa for them' (BB, 10)*

Shirley at Jaydon gave a different perspective. She found herself adopting a surrogate role, which at first caused some inconvenience to herself though this lessened over time.

Referring to how she felt concerned about guests returning at night Shirley explained: *'The only bug bear is, I don't know whether it's going back to being a mum but when you lay in bed and you just wait for that little click of the door to know they're in...I found I count legs' (from the basement owner's accommodation). I think "Oh that's the girls in or that's number 8 in" ...I'm not quite so bad now but in the beginning...' (J1, 15)*

These accounts show how 'who we are' can influence 'how' we are. Shirley for example implies here that her identity as a 'mum' contributed to how she took responsibility for her guests.

HOSTS' EXPERIENCES OF INTERACTIONS WITH GUESTS

Having determined how hosts felt toward interacting with guests, it was interesting to explore how they experienced these interactions.

'Friends'

One issue that emerged was the extent to which hosts felt their interactions with guests were 'relational'. In this context, a number of hoteliers referred to 'being' or 'making' 'friends' with their guests. For example, Ruby at Ankara said that this was one of the best things about owning the hotel.

Ruby: *'I think it's mainly the friends we've made really...I think of a lot of them as friends now because they come back and obviously they enjoy what we've given them and they come back...I mean I wouldn't force myself on anybody...if it happens it happens and that's just how it is really'* (AA, 9)

Similarly, Sandra at Maple Lodge reported: *'We've got more friends now...although we've no way encouraged it, we've still got two couples coming back who said we wouldn't lose touch with them...I mean they still come here and pay you know but we speak to them quite a lot on the phone, things like that. That's the nice side of being in a small hotel, you do meet and make friends'* (M, 7)

And Heather at Zealands: *'People generally were lovely. They were fantastic...I think we've made some really good friends'* (Z2, 7)

Ruby, Sandra and Heather all clearly value the 'friendship' that developed with their guests, whilst contending that they did not 'force' this. This tendency toward 'friendships' also seemed to occur in some large family hotels, as Mark at Dalebourne explained.

Mark: *'We must have had at least half a dozen small reunions...that's been nice because we desperately didn't want to lose these Bournemouth aficionados who'd been coming to us for years'* (D, 11)

'Intimate' Friends

However, the depth of host-guest 'friendships' was even starker in Jenny's account of Farley Court.

Jenny: *'One customer...said she was really worried that they hadn't heard from me about the baby and they don't like to ring the hotel in case something went wrong. So I wrote immediately and said that "I'm sorry I missed you off the list", sort of thing...But we get people asking, you see'* (about her daughter-in-law expecting a baby) (F, 3)

However, Jenny also portrayed the flip side of this situation, that for guests to have that level of contact, there have to be staff who were equally willing to engage with it. This invokes the emotion work involved in sustaining such 'personal' 'relationships', resonant of the every day emotion work needed to negotiate relationships in the private domain.

As Jenny illustrated: *'I've got a receptionist...the older sort of customer who's not got much to do, they will stand and talk to her for hours. She knows all their family business...But she's retiring soon and the younger ones won't do it...I'll try to do*

it...but sometimes they want to natter for ages... they'll think that you've got all the time in the world...they think there's nothing else for you to do' (F, 10)

The depth of attachment that could develop between host and guest was further revealed in another of Jenny's accounts, about how her son (who now runs the hotel) responded to an encounter with a particular guest.

Jenny: 'We had a couple a few weeks ago, and my son was terribly upset because she came up to tell him she had cancer and she wouldn't be coming anymore. And within a few weeks she had died and her husband phoned of course because I said to let us know if anything happens. Because they'd been coming for years. And you do get attached to customers like that especially if some people like that perhaps come three or four times a year' (F, 9)

Another example of how hosts and guests could become 'attached' was given by Max at Royden Court.

Max: 'And we've had five or six people who've broken down in tears because they've had to go home. It's quite upsetting' (R2, 7)

These accounts imply that guests as friends almost take on the status of 'family', and indeed this sentiment was expressed by Max at Royden Court and Sheila at Beechlands.

Max: 'It's just like family really, you're all ready for them to come, everything's done and then everything just happens' (R2, 4)

And Shelia: 'My regulars are great. They're more like family. They ring me up and tell the whole lot and tell me who's died and tell me what's going on' (B,5)

Sheila added another perspective to her familiarity with her regulars, that she 'knows' her guests by giving them 'pen portraits' to remember them by.

Sheila: '...eight out of ten people that ring up, I know as soon as I hear their voice, I know who it is...I might not know their name straight off but there's always something to connect them with. It's like I have a lady who doesn't like gravy, I have a lady who when she came which I called "the laughing lady", chuckles all the time...it's just accents that I recognise straight away' (B, 6)

However, conversely Rich at Kamarillo offered the view that guests were unlikely to become 'friends' due to the length of their stay, though he did admit he had having a 'soft spot' for one regular visitor, which might suggest the potential for such a 'relationship' to develop.

Rich: 'Well there not here long enough really. But...we've got one elderly lady and she's lovely ...she is a sweetheart. She's lovely...it's lovely to talk to her. I could sit and talk to her all night because she's so sharp...it's nice ...And probably a bit of favouritism, I've put her in a double room...Spoil her a bit. She's lovely' (K2, 11)

Just 'Guests'

In contrast, some hoteliers clearly rejected the idea of guests as friends. Pam at Solent House for example was emphatic in her condemnation of the notion.

Pam: *'I don't like this thing of "Come as guests, leave as friends" attitude...I think it's awful ...so we don't encourage that at all...it happens but you've got to be a bit big-headed to imagine that everyone who leaves here is going to leave as your best friend. I mean we make friends and we have people come back year after year, but at the end of the day it's something that just happens rather than us going out of our way to ensure they come back'* (S, 9)

Thus Pam seemed to accept the idea of 'friendship' if it happens 'naturally', but clearly eschews any idea of encouraging such relationships, particularly for commercial motives. Hazel at Everdene was similarly critical, but went further, reinforcing her view of the host-guest interaction as a commercial transaction.

Hazel, referring to other hoteliers: *'Some of them are far too chummy. I mean I would hate it. I don't like the sort of guests that hug you...I'll shake their hand but I don't necessarily want a hug and a kiss or anything...some places say "Arrive as guests, leave as friends". I mean all our guests, we're friendly to them, but they're not our friends. We're their servants when they're here and they're our source of income. To put it coldly. And I think you need to keep a professional sort of respect. I would never call a guest by their first name'* (EE, 13)

In addition to restating the commercial status of both host and guest, Hazel distinguished between 'friendliness' and 'friendship' here. She also clearly eschewed any 'intimacy' between host and guest, her professional distance here probably signalling to guests what are the boundaries of acceptable emotion display within this host-guest relationship. Echoing these sentiments, Derek at Quivern admitted that in the past he and his wife and been 'friendly' with guests but had recognised that this was not good for business. Here he reaffirmed his preference for a more professional approach.

Derek: *'Wasn't necessarily good for business...you need to keep a distance; you need to keep a professional level and if you're drinking with them in the bar and stuff like that...I think the old familiarity breeds contempt'* (Q, 4)

In terms of how hosts actually engaged with guests, two broad categories of interaction could be discerned from my data, that of 'acting' and that of behaving 'naturally'. I will examine the 'natural' approach first.

Being 'natural'

Some hoteliers implied that their 'naturalness' with guests aligned with their identification with the role of hotelier and the effort needed to perform that.

Judy at Eastleigh: *'It's just our nature...it's natural'* and daughter, Ellen: *'You can't describe it can you. It just happens – it's just natural'* (E, 2)

Natalie at Royden Court: *'I find it very easy, not easy, it's just natural for me to interact with people and to go out and talk to anyone, for me it's not problem at all, because that's what I had to do for the last 17 years (as a hairdresser)'* (R1, 4)

And Max at Royden Court: *'Well it's natural really. We didn't have to try really harder than normal really'* (R2, 1)

And Pam at Solent House explained: *'...we do make a huge effort but without it seeming like an effort...When I show them to their rooms I say "Oh would you like*

a cup of tea or coffee?" It's no big hassle...that's because we want to, it's not part of "We ought to do that because we're a hotelier"...it's the natural thing to do, we're not going out of our way' (S, 9)

For Donna, identification with her role meant she could never envisage finding interacting with guests difficult. She laughed as she commented:

'I have never felt like that and I think that the one day that I do wake up and feel like that I have to go...I have to say probably I'm more comfortable with me than I've ever been because at work yes I did have an act...so at work you didn't see me but here I don't change for anybody' (V, 10)

Thus in their different ways, these hoteliers expressed how their interactions with guests felt 'natural' so that even when it involved an effort, as with Pam, it did not seem like an effort.

However, sometimes a host's 'natural' performance could mean conveying both likes and dislikes toward guests, as these two contrasting accounts by Phil at Jaydon illustrate. Here he explained how his behaviour differed in the two situations.

Phil, explaining the first instance: *'I do have my Basil moments. It's only happened once or twice. We had this one guy and Shirley loved him to bits, just like Sybil does! ...But he was a right smarmy git. Sitting down leaning back like this (demonstrates lounging about), talking to some women over there. And I'd walk past him, accidentally nudging the chair as I go past. And I'm rattling the cups and saucers'. Asked if he felt the guest picked up on his attitude, Phil replied 'I don't know whether he did or not. Probably not...' Phil said the reason for his reaction was 'Just didn't like him, didn't like him' (J2, 7)*

And his second example: *'We love talking to people. A guy came in yesterday and all he did was talk. He came from Streatham Common and he knew London. And he, to me, was interesting because we had a common denominator' (J2, 12)*

An 'Act'

In contrast, other hoteliers inferred, or explicitly described, that they engaged in some sort of 'act' when interacting with guests.

Celia at Brightsea: *'And then of course my accent...will change...I just pick them up...I don't know I'm doing it, unless I'm mucking around...part of the act I guess...one weekend I had a load of Brummies down from Birmingham. "You all right then love? You all right? I'm all right. You all right?" (mimicking Birmingham accent). So I was quite Brummie for a while'. Celia added that she did not do this deliberately, except '...if I'm mucking around. If I'm mucking around I can do it. But sometimes I really do not know when I'm lapsing into it' (BB, 18)*

Judy at Eastleigh also admitted to an 'act' but also implied that this could be 'second nature', suggesting a close alignment between deep acting and 'no acting'.

Judy: *'Well we do on our bad days, let's be honest here, I mean everyone has bad days. And yes, you do turn it on when it's necessary. But it's second nature' (E, 20)*

However, in contrast, Marion at Newmount said that she *'never'* felt that she didn't want to interact with guests, but that she did take steps to ensure her own mood was conducive to conducting those interactions.

Marion: *'In the morning when I'm upstairs putting my face on, I maybe might be in a bit of a mood, but even if I do feel like that when I'm upstairs the minute I come downstairs I'm different, because you know, it's not the guest's fault. And you should never never do that. But no, I don't ever feel that, I don't ever feel that I can't be bothered talking to people and being nice to people and being welcoming. Never' (N, 14)*

Marion implies here that she adopts an 'act' to ensure her own mood is suppressed, because she genuinely never feels that she does not want to interact with her guests. Her account suggests a presentational approach to emotion management, manifested through the sincerity with which she feels committed to never *feeling* that she *'can't be bothered talking to people and being nice to people and being welcoming'*. However, she does indicate that she needs to invest in emotion work to give that 'genuine' performance to her guests, to change from maybe being *'in a bit of a mood'*. Her account also suggests that she can give a genuine performance by really feeling how she wants to come across, implying that the emotion work she employs secures deep acting to display appropriate emotion.

Max at Royden Court expressed a similar sentiment. Asked whether it gets more difficult to interact with guests toward the end of the season, he replied:

'We never show that it's getting to us. I mean I may look terrible because of lack of sleep but I'll still smile' (R2, 17)

In contrast to Max and Marion, Derek at Quivern made no secret of feigning interest with some guests.

Derek: *'There are guests obviously that are a bit more trying, there are guests that are tetchy. I enjoy meeting them. Whether I enjoy talking to them after we've met, I don't know! ...I'm sure there's times people talk to me I really have no interest in what they've got to say at all but I have to make out I'm interested, obviously. I can't just get up and walk out' Asked if he thought the guests noticed this, Derek added drily 'You mean when I'm yawning or falling asleep!? "Oh is that the phone I hear ringing??" No, I don't know' (Q, 10-12)*

Mary's perspective of a large hotel was interesting here. As owner of Grasmere, she explained how she trained her staff.

Mary: *'Well, life is an act, isn't it? I do actually say that too, to the girls, that this is your stage you know...It starts off perhaps by acting and it becomes natural. And if you're a smiley friendly person you do it naturally. If you're not it comes over and as you succeed and you continue and you actually find that people listen, when you're in a good mood. I mean if you've got a big chip on your shoulder that day because you've had a row with someone and you go in they don't respond to you as well as when you're in a good mood and you can learn to do this' (G, 2-3)*

A mixed Approach – being ‘natural’ and ‘acting’

A mixed approach was also evident between some co-owners. Chas and Gail for example adopted different approaches toward guests.

Chas: *‘We don’t build relationships with guests...we’re at a distance...obviously we have to smile at them and stuff like that, but it’s not that we have to spend two hours at the breakfast table trying to chat them up’* (CC, 11)

However, Gail’s view was that: *‘If we are going to be very nice and smiling...they will surely be very delighted also, right? So every time I...serve the breakfast and you think that they enjoy that...so you’re relieved that you will be very happy. I mean, if you are so tired and bored, they won’t be satisfied and happy’* (CC,11)

But Chas emphasised his view again, that: *‘...the only reason why we’ll smile or be happy is because we are smiling or are happy...we come in here because we’re looking to see if they’re OK. That’s all...it’s nothing complicated’* (CC, 11)

So whilst Chas was quite clear that he did not need to, nor wish to, engage in any ‘act’ to ‘smile’, Gail suggested she used a certain amount of impression management.

Max and Natalie at Royden Court also contradicted earlier claims about being ‘natural’ with these views. Max commented that the effort needed to make guests feel welcome was:

‘80% is natural and the last 20% is not so much’ (R1, 1)

And Natalie suggested that:

‘I suppose...it’s like “Oh, these are new guests and we want to make a really good impression so they come back”’ (R2, 4)

Some hoteliers explained that the effort needed to interact with guests varied according to particular situations, implying that the emotion work involved could be ‘hard’ work at times. For Rebecca, the work involved in host-guest interactions seemed to depend on the openness of the guest.

Rebecca: *‘It depends who’s in. I mean most of the people...it’s very easy to chat because they’re interested in this place so you’re telling them about this and they’re telling you about what they do. So no, I don’t find that hard. But just occasionally you get certain characters who they want to sit there but they don’t say a lot...you find that hard work if someone’s not very forthcoming’* (C, 8)

Max at Royden Court explained how he tackled similar situations.

Max: *‘In terms of being close to people, you tend to know them because you spend more time with them...But if they just come for bed and breakfast you just have a relationship in the morning and then in the evening you may catch them coming down and then again talk to them...whereas when the older people have dinner you tend to be a bit more thorough with them’* (R2, 7)

For Anne at Xanadu interacting was ‘hard’ work at certain times, reflecting the impact that the nature of hospitality work, and in particular the long hours, could have on hosts.

Anne: *'...it gets more difficult towards then end of the season...I mean I get quite stressed actually' (X, 2)*

However, whilst all these hoteliers alluded to the effort involved in host-guest interactions being 'hard', Heather at Zealands gave a contrasting picture, that *having to interact* with guests had benefited her husband Ken.

Heather: *'He's very good actually, because he's a quiet man, he's quite a shy man. But it's done him the world of good. He's very confident going into the dining room ...He's very confident. It's done him the world of good, it really has' (Z2, 6)*

However, it had not been easy for Ken, as Heather further explained.

Heather: *'He was worried. I know he was very worried about it when we moved in. I know he was. But he's blossomed. I think because it's his place and he's the boss, it's took him up a rung, you know?...I mean...he stands in there now, and I think "Oh for God's sake, what's happened here???" (laughs)'He talks a load of rubbish but its what they want to hear...the old ladies love him, they love him to bits' (Z2, 22)*

The sense of 'learning' how to interact with guests implied in this account was echoed by Max at Royden Court.

Max: *'I'm more of a one to one...that's my preference. I'm getting better, I'm learning to talk to huge numbers of people. It's not too hard it's just getting used to it. It's like stage fright really. You get nervous but then it's OK' (R1, 4)*

Sandra at Maple Lodge expressed similar sentiments.

Sandra: *'I think that's what we found hard to start with because we're very shy people...when we first started out we were very shy. But you soon get over it, the more you do it, the easier it is' (M, 10)*

Some hoteliers also alluded to how personality and/or role preference could influence which 'host' 'interacted'. Marion at Newmount and Donna Violet Court both explained how they differed to their partners.

Marion: *'He's maybe not as garrulous as I am! I don't think anybody is!! But he likes to have conversations...If he happens to be there he will enter into conversation with people' (N, 6)*

And Donna: *'He's not so comfortable in the hotel...he's not an outgoing person, he's extremely shy...unfortunately if someone doesn't respond when he starts a conversation...then he won't bother...he has got better... I mean maybe I talk too much...but I listen sometimes and I think "You seem a bit abrupt...Just give a little bit more"' (V, 10)*

Difficult Host-Guest Interactions

Differences also emerged regarding which host would deal with 'difficult' guest encounters.

Hazel at Everdene about husband Ricky: *'He'd make me deal with it. I would have to deal with it. He's always nice to them'* (EE, 11)

And Rich about partner Pete: *'He's quite professional. I think he'd probably take them to one side and tell them, straight out...he's dealing with people all the time...so he can handle people probably better than I could I think'* (K2, 10).

From the perspective of a large family hotel, Mary from Grasmere explained how she dealt with 'difficult' guests.

Mary: *'I personally treat that as a challenge but I think it's very hard for a young receptionist to do the same thing. Personally I just stretch them a little bit further than they personally want to be stretched...I wouldn't be rude to a guest. I'd just put them at the bottom of the pile...I never mind coming down and talking to the guest...occasionally I come in when they've told me "So-and-so is so rude" and I just say "Well tell me and I will come down and lurk". My appearance is usually enough. I sometimes think I should have been a school teacher!'* (G, 3-5)

Jenny at Farley Court was similarly protective toward her staff, but appeared to find handling such situations more difficult than Mary did.

Jenny: *'You know, you might deal with awkward customers but it still upsets me, it still upsets me if I happen to get an awkward customer and I've been in it since forever, but it still upsets me'* (F, 9).

Jenny explained how she briefed her staff to tackle such situations.

Jenny: *'If someone's really difficult ...even if they're not being rude, I say to them, "If they're not happy, don't charge them"...I'd rather they leave and us have to be empty because I don't want an unpleasant person here creating havoc and upsetting other guests and upsetting the staff. I'd rather they be gone...our policy is... "Don't have an unpleasant guest". But it's very difficult, you can't force them to leave, if they've made a booking...you can't force them to leave'* (F, 10)

These experiences show how hosts vary in their abilities to cope with managing emotion when dealing with difficult guests. It could be inferred that Mary negotiates control whilst Jenny gets upset and feels a certain helplessness.

A negotiated approach was also used in smaller hotels. In the context of explaining how he dealt with difficult guests, Rich at Kamarillo told this story about dealing with a guest who was the only one of a party to complain.

Rich: *'It was quite funny actually because one woman...she was old...probably in her sixties, but she was like an old matron type. And...she was the one who was moaning...But as it happened I found out that she was friendly with one of my best friends from Wales and I had to mention it. So I said to her "Oh, you know SD don't you?" and she said "Yes" and I said "Oh right. She's a very good friend of mine"...And she was like as nice as pie after that...She was just a sad old*

spinster! ...but at the end of the day she did have Room 1 and I wouldn't have put my mother in it!' (K2, 13)

It was also interesting to explore how 'hosts' (that is, staff) cope with such situations in large corporate hotels. Duty Manager Simon gave these views about Durley Dunes.

Simon: 'I ask the guest to sit down and I'd obviously try to speak to them and...say that "I can't actually help you unless you speak to me properly and don't get angry with me, then basically I can't help you" ...the first thing you've got to do is listen and it's always hard because you might be hearing something you've heard every day...we actually listen to them and we empathise ...the real good power is when you really turn around and really say that Everybody's here to help you, everybody's here to serve you, so please give us the chance to do that"' (DD, 6; DD,9)

Simon also explained how he thought staff felt in such situations.

Simon: 'It's very much that they feel responsible, they feel as though they want to fix it so they feel as though...they want the guest to know that they can...So empowerment just says "talk to that guest, get to know them" ' (DD, 9-10)

'Reading' the Guest

Reflecting an earlier discussion that hosts liked to get to 'know' the guest, another facet of host-guest interactions seemed to be the importance of 'reading' the guest, for example assessing whether or not he/she *wants* to engage in conversation, and to what extent. Sandra at Maple Lodge put it like this.

Sandra: 'One of the important things is...to know when people want to chat or when people don't want to chat. They just want to be left alone. That's probably one of the hardest things because people come into your hotel in all different moods. Some come in sort of bubbly, some come in after an argument in the car, some come in and you think "They're picking for a fight"...but it's sort of nice to see that when they all leave they feel more relaxed and happy and that's the good side of it really' (M, 2)

Marion at Newmount and Max at Royden Court offered similar views.

Marion: 'You can normally tell when a person checks in...you can guess, you can just feel which...which sort of guests are going to be the ones shut in their room and not talk to anybody, and they come and go, and that's fine by me. Or they'll come in...and maybe they want a bit of company...Whichever they want, you've just got to feel, sort of sense their mood. It's difficult to put into words really' (N, 4)

And Max: 'Some people are more secretive or quiet and they won't join in with any other conversations in the room and so you have to respect that, whereas some people are open. Some people are not so comfortable with giving away information they're not comfortable with...we have the radio on which stops the silence. Otherwise when it's silent and people are trying to swallow without making a noise. It stops all that' (R2, 15-16)

However, Simon, Duty Manager of Durley Dunes gave a different perspective. He explained that 'reading' the guest was complicated by having to deal with the different guest markets, leisure and corporate.

Simon: *'Your leisure guest is probably paying more and are coming more for the summer period and is going to be wanting more from the hotel...on the other side you've got the corporate guest who then isn't going to use the hotel so much or as much and want so many things...they're also away from home, they're not actually happy at being here and given a preference they'd probably want to be at home'* (DD, 1)

Simon went on to explain how he perceived the challenge of dealing with these two markets.

Simon: *'A corporate guest...it's very hard because when you first meet them they have a very stern manner, whereas the leisure guest will say "How are you? How long have you worked here?"...It's harder to break down, I think because they come back from a hard day's work so you have to do that. "How was work? How was this for you? Is there anything we can do for you to help you relax?" That kind of thing, and it is almost breaking down that kind of boundary'* (DD, 10)

Protecting Privacy and Managing Host-Guest Space

Another aspect of host-guest interactions that emerged was that hosts could be faced with situations where they needed to manage the boundaries of host-guest space and to protect their own privacy. Taking the threat to privacy first, Jon at Ainsley for example explained how guests could be curious about him and his partner being gay.

Jon: *'They pry a bit. They're dying to get something out of you! "So are you two brothers?!"... "No, we live together. We're business partners and we live together" you know, just to make it clear! And they say "Oh, oh!" No, they probably think we're "a couple of nice boys" (said laughingly and in a very camp voice)'* (A, 7)

Sean: *'It doesn't' bother most people. But we did have some evangelists stay who said we were terrible and were "seriously tempting the wrath of God". They left little letters behind the curtains and around the room. And we found them after they'd left' And did you speak to them about that? Sean: 'No, I wrote to them' And did they reply? Sean: 'No, it was a very straight talking letter!'* (A, 7)

Rich: *'You tell them what you want them to know, but no...I mean if someone says "How much are you taking a week?" I'll say "Mind your own bloody business!!" It's nothing to do with them!'* (K2, 11)

However, Rebecca at Chinedale recalled an incident where a guest was 'too interested' in her and her family's private life.

Rebecca: *'...we get guests, we had one recently, extremely demanding. Just wanting to talk but I don't know what was up with the lady, probably "simple" is the wrong word to use but learning difficulties or something, but she was very demanding...she need to talk all the time and she got very personal about my son and us. Not rude, but just too interested, too interested...I just sort of said "Look that's not something you need to know" (C, 8)*

In terms of managing host-guest space, Jon at Ainsley explained:

'It's difficult sometimes getting your own space. For example, I tend to sit in the front office where I've got a laptop, by reception. And I may be sitting there. The door is always open, which we do...so it doesn't look as if we're putting people off. But you always get some who'll engage you in conversation. So I'll normally go on the mobile and ring the phone and say "Oh, excuse me, I must get that"' (A, 5)

Sheila at Beechlands adopted a similar approach.

Sheila: 'I just say if you need me you ring the bell and I'll come and that's it. And if they want me to talk to them I'll speak for a few minutes and then I'll say "Look I've got to go in the office and do something". But basically I don't mind spending the time talking to them' (B, 8)

However, Rebecca at Chinedale seemed to find managing host-guest space more challenging, though said this didn't happen 'very often.'

Rebecca: 'We've had people in the past...and every time you bump into them you get caught so you're trying to keep out of their way as much as you can so you can get on with things. But it doesn't happen very often' (C, 8)

Hazel at Everdene experienced similar frustrations, with older guests.

Hazel: 'Yeah, they like to chat...I just don't go upstairs...Ricky can chat to somebody and walk off mid conversation and go and carry on serving at the next table. I'd find that difficult, So towards dinner time I try not to go and answer the door or anything because if I start cooking and I get trapped, everything could go to pieces...They'll sit in the garden and if I'm out there gardening they'll have a chat. Which is nice, because I've got time then...It's worse really...in the autumn they want to chat because they don't want to walk out in the dark and the cold, so they want to chat' (EE, 2; EE, 12)

Phil at Jaydon told a similar tale.

Phil: 'We've got a chap in at the moment... he says how he misses his girlfriend, he misses his little boy. And every time he comes down the stairs he wants to talk. Which is fine, but we haven't got all day to talk. And because the lounge is also an office...its quite often "Oh hello, how are you? Blah blah blah" But you can't sit there for hours on end talking...We shut the door, We just close the door...sometimes it's nice to shut yourself away...You shut the business out as such. And sometimes you need to shut the business out' (J2, 3)

For some hoteliers, certain times of the day proved problematic, for example serving breakfasts.

Judy at Eastleigh: 'Sometimes it's very difficult...at breakfast time and you try to have conversations with everybody that's part of the service. But some people just, they have to talk to you. And you can't get away... yeah, it can be difficult' (E, 5)

Max at Royden Court: 'In the mornings, yes, it can be difficult to break away...I try to give everyone the same time' (R2, 15)

As with other interactions, it also emerged that hosts had preferences as to who would deal with the challenge of managing host-guest space. Rebecca at Chinedale for example commented on her father and husband taking on 'front-of-house' roles and herself and her mother being 'back-of-house'.

Rebecca: *'I think my husband does feel more comfortable with that, he's very outgoing, very chatty and things...I'm very happy to be out of sight and just getting on with the background stuff. I'd be quite happy not to'* (C, 14)

Hazel's experience at Everdene was similar.

Hazel: *'Yeah, I get away without seeing people all week...'* and about husband Ricky, *'...he's very good with people'* (EE, 2)

And Rich commented about partner Pete: *'Like Pete will chat to people more than I will. He will sort of take breakfast in and he'd be gone for about an hour. And I'll be thinking "Where the hell is he?"...And he's chatting to people'* (K2, 12)

HOSTS' PERCEPTIONS OF HOW GUESTS VIEW THE HOST-GUEST RELATIONSHIP

When Guest say 'Thank-You'

Guest behaviour that seemed to surprise, and mostly delight hosts, was expressions of 'thank you' through letters, cards, and gifts. The following comments reveal the effect this could have on the host. Shirley at Jaydon and Max at Royden Court said that what they liked most about the job was:

'When they leave little letters in the room' (J2, 10)

'When you're showered with gifts' (R2, 7)

Marion, Heather and Jenny all expressed their surprise at these gestures.

Marion at Newmount: *'We...sent a Christmas card to every single one. And you'd be surprised at the number of people that phoned up and said "thank you" for the Christmas card. And that surprised me...they really appreciated them, they wrote letters back and made phone calls so that was brilliant'* (N, 11)

Heather at Zealands: *'I've had loads...It got ridiculous...I really didn't expect a thank you letter...that was something I really didn't expect'* (Z2, 14)

Jenny at Farley Court: *'A lot of guests...when they leave, either before they leave or when they go home, they go out and buy a thank-you card...I would never dream of doing that...it does still surprise me in a way because even if I've enjoyed a holiday I would no more dream of getting home, going out and buying a thank you card and sending it. But people do that because they've enjoyed the stay. And they still do'* (F, 7)

Others could not hide their delight at such positive feedback. Asked if this made him feel embarrassed, Rich at Kamarillo said:

'No, it's lovely! Keep it coming!!...It's nice if you get a compliment, but if you don't, you don't' (K2, 11)

And Terry at Woodley said that good guest feedback made him feel: *'Wonderful, wonderful. When people send me testimonials or send me cards or say things, it just makes my heart sing. It just sends me off'* (W, 23)

However, feedback was not always positive. Here Terry clearly expressed how this affected him.

Terry: *'For every nine nice things I get one bad thing, one bad thing. And it's the bad things that stick and that hurt. And it does hurt...I take it personally'* (W, 21)

These accounts illustrate how guests' symbolic gestures – good or bad – can trigger emotions in the host, from delight to hurt. The experiences here also reflect the interpersonal nature of emotion and suggest some reciprocity between host and guest, resonant of private hospitality rather than a commercial focus.

'Transactional' and 'Relational' Guests

However, it also emerged that guests' expectations of the host-guest relationship could also be one of servitude rather than service. For example Simon, Duty Manager of Durley Dunes explained how guests at the Conservative Party Conference seemed to expect deference.

Simon: *'They can be demeaning and they expect almost servitude rather than service. They expect you to be deferential but they expect a different level of deference'* And commenting on how staff dealt with this sort of behaviour: *'You just have to grin and bear it'* (DD, 17).

Celia at Brightsea gave a similar example and she too implied that she felt she could not 'react'. Here she explains how students changed in their attitude toward her after a few weeks.

Celia: *'You find at least three quarters of them...it was "That's it. She's here to serve us, we pay her, she'll do as we say". And all the rest. And they could be very rude back'* (BB 3)

Guests at Beechlands displayed a not dissimilar attitude. However, as Sheila explains, their demeanour changed over time to become *'really close friends'* (B, 10).

Sheila: *'I've got six people that have been coming for five years. When they first came...they vetted me for over an hour. They said "We want the same rooms every year and the same tables" And now they're like friends, they're really close friends...they come every year, same two weeks, they have the same bedrooms'* (B, 9)

This account suggests a shift in power between host and guest, beginning with the guest assuming control but with power emerging as a shared phenomenon. Throughout this process it would appear that the status of the guest changed from transactional customer to 'friend'.

Sheila recalled another example where guests demonstrated a relational attitude toward her when she told them she might buy a smaller hotel.

Sheila: *'...my regulars have said " We're sick of moving. If you have to sell we will come with you"'* (B, 10)

Celia at Brightsea also gave an account of how guests showed affective sentiments toward her. She reported how post-care clients wanted to return to Brightsea after the Council had moved them to another hotel.

Celia: *'... in the middle of the night and everything these kids were knocking the door " Please let me come back. Please let me come back". So...they came back'* (BB, 10)

EMOTION MANAGEMENT TO ESTABLISH BOUNDARIES OF GUEST BEHAVIOUR

Here, two sub-themes emerged from my data; hosts using emotion management to establish guest boundaries through a 'control' approach, and through a 'negotiated' approach.

ESTABLISHING BOUNDARIES THROUGH 'CONTROL'

Rules

A lot of 'rules' that hoteliers used to 'control' guest behaviour seemed to focus on taking party bookings. A very practical rule, designed to *prevent* any trouble, such as damage to hotel facilities, was the concept of a booking bond. Celia at Brightsea claimed to have instigated this idea as her comment here reveals. However, Ruby at Ankara and Rich at Kamarillo clearly also found it a useful tool.

Celia: *'A few years ago I designed a group booking bond...So now I do that. Three is a group because it took only three to remove a toilet. Do not ask !! Do not ask!! I've no idea...So when they come in now they have to sign this group booking bond'*(BB, 13)

Ruby at Ankara: *'...if I've got a group coming in I always take a bond. So that I've safeguarded myself. Whereas years ago it wasn't like that. It was like " Oh God, when are they leaving? Have I still got a place standing?"...But now I still take groups and I must say we have so much fun with them'* (AA, 4)

Rich at Kamarillo: *'We have a bond form...for big parties'* (K1, 8)

Celia's and Ruby's candid descriptions of life before 'the bond' illustrate the sort of abuse to facilities that hosts could face.

However, rules other than for party groups were also used, though their enforcement seemed to vary.

Celia at Brightsea required background information on post-care clients: *'They talk about confidentiality and all this crap...I need to know a bit of the background because they put self-harmers here, they put overdose people, they put druggies, all sorts. So I say, right, I want to know...then I have a choice...I get a choice now'* (BB, 12)

Chas at Chesildene: '*...we have a welcome pack...there is a terms and conditions of stay...there are some important rules...one is, there's no smoking...the other big rule is...if they come in after 11 o'clock they mustn't make any noise*' (CC, 4)

Derek at Quivern described his rules for student guests: '*Terrible! It's like coming to a concentration camp! It's like boot camp!...It's like that but worse* (said jovially, but then adding more seriously)...*there's an awful lot of rules, a lot of them are relaxed. We find it's much easier to turn round and say "You're not to bring alcohol in"...and then say "But if we don't see it and we don't know about it going on, it's really not a problem"...so if we walk past the lounge and you've got...a bottle of Jack Daniels on the table I'm not worried. But if I come down ...in the morning and you've left empty cans and bottles...my God then I'm gonna charge you because I don't go round clearing up after other people...So really, we have a lot of rules...we're trying to be reasonable, we're trying to be fair*' (Q, 5-6)

In two further cases a 'curfew' was favoured. Derek contends that this was for the benefit of the guests, but acknowledges the difficulties of implementing it. However for Max and Natalie the curfew clearly seemed to be for their benefit.

Derek at Quivern again: '*I mean this sounds great, this sounds horrendous...having a midnight curfew...we tell them exactly what we are about...They know there's a curfew...They like it ...they love it! That's what they want. They want that curfew. It's not for our protection it's for theirs. They don't want other guests coming in at 2 or 3 in the morning. The fact is, it's very difficult for us to enforce it...because at 10 or 11 o'clock we're in bed...if they come in at 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning, we're not really gonna know*' (Q, 3-5)

Natalie at Royden Court: '*I think Max would quite like to have a curfew because we have to get up early and Max can't settle until everybody's gone, so that means I can't settle! If he's not settled, I'm not settled*' (R1, 8)

The 'Speech'

Another common strategy was to give a 'speech' to party groups as they arrived, explaining the 'do's' and 'don'ts', though the style in which this was delivered varied. Celia, for example, implied here that guests suggested she was 'patronising'.

Celia: '*I then talk to everybody like little children, as I was told! So I do try "Gentlemen please, ladies" you know, "I don't mean this to be belittling or patronising or whatever...but this is a no smoking hotel in the rooms...Please do not bring anybody back with you" ...because they do. And condoms are then left everywhere*' (BB, 13)

In contrast, Judy at Eastleigh revealed a dry sense of humour in how she approaches this, illustrating how humour can 'lighten the atmosphere' when managing emotion in social relationships. However she was also unequivocal about not tolerating inappropriate behaviour.

Judy: '*When they arrive on a Friday...they are told generally do's and don'ts, why's and wherefores...don't disturb anyone and be quiet on your way back in. But other than that enjoy yourselves!...if they don't listen to the speech they don't get in. If they are very drunk when they arrive...they don't get in, because instantly they're going to cause problems*' (E, 7)

A similar attempt to 'lighten' the tone is reflected in Hazel's approach at Everdene where she tries to inject some humour into her guest 'briefing'.

Hazel: *'If we like get three young couples in, I'll say "Got to be quiet when you come in. Make sure you close the front door because we don't want the mad axe-man to come in!" ...So, you know, I'm not the dragon landlady but ...and they're usually fine'* (EE, 6)

On the other hand, Marion at Newmount and Denise at Tipton tended to be more direct, not unlike Celia's approach but without the patronising tone.

Marion: *'When they walk in the door and they are stone cold sober...they get a tongue lashing. They're told what's acceptable and what's not acceptable and I operate a one out, all out. I wouldn't hesitate to put all of them out...there's a few things that aren't acceptable'* (N, 8)

Denise: *'...you have to read the riot act to them...it doesn't matter how nice they are when they come in, after they've had a few beers they're a bit noisy and obviously we've had things happen in the past...it is a worry and it is a worry if you've got other guests staying and if other guests complain if they're noisy, so I try to zone it if I have to do it'* (T, 14)

Terry at Woodley was also very direct with groups of guests. He explained that he perceived this encounter to be an 'act' that he has 'staged', implying that his 'performance' is intended to elicit appropriate behaviour from the guests.

Terry: *'I say to them "Now look guys, if you want to kick off at half past two in the morning and have a party in the room there are some hotels that will do that for you. But let me tell you, we don't do hen nights, we don't do stag nights. How can I put it" I very often say "We don't do violence and vomit". And I will say that' And to those who stay he says "Go out, have a blast, have fun but when you get back in through that door, just bring it down"...I've got this staged...I do have an act'* (W, 4)

'Controlling' Guest Behaviour

Some hoteliers extended control over how guests behaved during their stay.

Celia at Brightsea: *'We've done the drinking through the night...Three at the table with the same bottle, and all this rubbish...Now it's a Welcome Bar. Before they go down town they can have a few drinks and when they go through the door...that door shuts'* (BB, 13)

Marion at Newmount, about what constitutes 'unacceptable' behaviour: *'...just not being violent and breaking things up. I won't put up with anything like that. I hate fire extinguishers being let off, it's childish...I'm a bit wary about some parents coming here and leaving children in the hotel room...effectively they're my responsibility...I have said to them "I'm sorry but you really can't do this"'* (M, 9)

Hoteliers also controlled guest behaviour by articulating their own values, even to the point of evicting guests who violated those sensibilities, as Celia's account here reveals.

Celia at Brightsea about dealing with asylum seekers ' *I had hookers...they came with children and they were bringing people in. I had this one particular one who seemed quite educated and who said "Oh you can't treat me like this...I am university graduate" I said " What, a graduate of the hooker school? ...Get the hell out of my hotel, take your child as well. How dare you... bring someone in, sleep with him, with a child in the room"*'(BB, 5)

And Sean at Ainsley: ' *By the look of the place, the way it's decorated and so on' and that 'we are not "Gor blimey" – we're middle class educated lads – people know how to behave' (A, 7).*

Controlling Host-Guest Space

Some hoteliers also sought to manage guest behaviour by controlling the 'space' available to guests. The following examples show how some hoteliers used this approach to deal with party bookings.

Rich at Kamarillo: ' *What we're trying to do is to fill the hotel so there's nobody else that's going to be disturbed...then that's not a problem because nobody else will be worrying...we'll take a hen party...the rooms are stripped to a minimum so all the niceties have almost gone...the breakables' (K1, 5; K2, 5)*

And Judy at Eastleigh about embarking on the 'group' market: ' *We learnt very early on here that if you're going to accept groups in this building, which was always essentially a family hotel...you then introduce a group...we found that difficult because there was always the risk that they might come back at 1 o'clock in the morning and disturb everybody else, not necessarily meaning to. We were never comfortable with it because we would always think of it. So that is why they're in separate buildings' (E, 7)*

And Pam at Solent House: ' *We don't deliberately mix party guests and non-party-guests'...(and about non-party guests) 'I'd rather they didn't stay...because I do know they (referring to party guests) come in and have a bit to drink...they can't help it, they might slam the odd door or may be shouting at one another. But isn't out of hand, no' (S, 5)*

For Shirley at Jaydon, the challenge was gaining access to guest rooms as she explained here.

Shirley: ' *When we first moved in we had a couple of contractors that were long term...they didn't want you to go into the room. After like it's the third week and they still hadn't had fresh sheets in there...I started going up with the sheets and they said " Oh leave them there. I'll do it". And all they used to do was rumple up the clean sheets and put them back out again. So I said " Right, that's it, I've had enough. This is our hotel, it's our business". We waited for them to go out one day and then we went up there and gave it a good clean. And they still tried to keep us out...the thing is you see at the same time you can't invade somebody's privacy. So...I say we come in once a day...So it's not so bad now...When we first got these rooms... there was money...it was all over the floor. So you couldn't Hoover....Anyway, I got fed up with it so I just hoovered them up in the end. But he didn't like it, he didn't like it at all. But as we said, it's our hotel' (J, 8)*

Rich at Kamarillo illustrated how hoteliers could feel concerned about the 'public' area of the hotel even when 'relaxing' in their private accommodation. He explained that he constantly worried about this.

Rich: *'Ooh, I do, ooh I do, constantly. Pete doesn't, Pete says...that's it, switch off, But I do...especially if there's a gang of girls in and they're getting ready ...And I think "Oh God have they left the lights on, the toilet fan's going and I can hear something"...I'm constantly listening....So I do make checks'* (K2, 8)

The following two examples also illustrate how hosts could respond to guests who physically transgressed the boundary between hotel 'public' space and the host's private area.

Hazel at Everdene: *'I've only had one person through and he was swiftly despatched! Whereas I know a few hotels where...people wander into the kitchen. I couldn't be doing with that...I just could not have a guest in my kitchen while I'm cooking. I've got a friend who says "Oh, they wander through to the office" and I say "Well that's your own fault. Lock the door"'* (EE, 14)

And Sandra at Maple Lodge: *'A couple of times we've been in the living rooms and come out and found somebody in the hotel washing the baby's bottle out in our kitchen...they're not allowed in our kitchen not just because we don't like them invading our space, but they're not insured...And that, that really does annoy you. And...guests who ring the bell outside the kitchen and then walk straight in'* (M, 6)

Appropriate Dress

'Dress code' could also be enforced as a rule, as Rich at Kamarillo implied here and as Terry at Woodley reported about a neighbouring hotel.

Rich: *'...if you've got a group of girls in, some will come down at the last minute...and they'll come down probably in their pyjamas...I don't mind if it's going to be all of them because there's nobody else down there in the dining room to be worried about. But if...there were other people in there ...I wouldn't like it and ...I'd probably send Pete in ! ...Pete's more a people person than I am I think...he can handle people probably better than I could I think...if I was here on my own and there were some other people in the dining room...looking down their nose, I think I probably would...say...at the end of the day it's my place'* (K2, 10)

Terry's account of his neighbour's encounter with Mr. X amusingly illustrates how attempts to control guest behaviour can sometimes result in a re-negotiation of the host-guest relationship. In this case, the host seemed to restore social order with a hint of humour.

Terry, referring to a neighbouring hotelier: *'A guy came down to breakfast...with no shoes. So the owner said "Mr. X, you need to wear shoes to come down to the dining room". So he went up, and came back into the dining room wearing shoes...and nothing else! Just walked in! And she said (with some amusement) "Yes, very good, very good" Terrific. That's a good one!'* (W, 11)

Sometimes the use of a 'dress code' was more *implied* than overt. Nothing was necessarily said to guests who transgressed it, but it was hoped that they would take their cue from others and change their behaviour or leave.

Hazel at Everdene: *'We've had one or two couples and the blokes will appear for dinner in their string vests...I think people like that will realise it's not their sort of hotel and they'll go somewhere else'* (EE, 9)

Terry at Woodley expressed similar disapproval, revealing other prejudices as he did so: *'...the councillors...one of them came down with his shirt open. Completely open. And he was a big fat man and he was short'* (W, 11)

And Mark at Dalebourne explained the issues that could arise in a large family hotel: *'Certainly we didn't have anywhere written down a dress code. But how do you say to someone who comes down to breakfast in a singlet, shorts and no shoes when other people are...I did have one or two complaints actually, particularly in the evenings when ladies, or husbands on behalf of their ladies, would say "Is there nothing you can do about that group on table 20 – he comes down in the evening a bit of a slob and I've bathed and dressed and done my hair nicely"...I would hope that the person involved would take the hint from the way everybody else was dressed...I found that very awkward to deal with...It wasn't something I could deal with easily...Topless sunbathing was another one...sometimes I would do it and sometimes I would simply duck out of it, I have to confess'* (D, 14)

Challenging Guest Behaviour

Some hoteliers appeared to 'control' guest behaviour by taking charge of the host-guest interaction. For Chas at Chesildene this involved a mix of his physical presence and an assertive tone.

Chas: *'We get quite a lot of hen parties and stag parties and...the girls particularly like to have another party when they come back...we've had one or two of those and really we've got to stop that...I've had to get up and deal with it...usually they quieten down pretty quickly...seeing me at three o'clock in the morning is quite terrifying for young girls! Seeing a bloke, half asleep saying "That's it!" Usually quietens it down'* (CC, 4)

Celia at Brightsea was more direct, as evidenced in these two examples.

Celia, referring to whether students liked the food: *'One... year I had...quite a bad lot...I had one young lady and she was with her group on one table and then I had another table...half of them did and the other half sort of didn't ...it was all because of this one girl. If she didn't like it and she'd say "I ain't eating that shit" Literally. The whole table would go "Yeah, yeah, yeah!". So...I'd deliberately go to the other table to find every plate had cleared and I'd say "Oh, did you enjoy that guys?...a little bit more?"...never spoke to the other table just yet...And then come to the other table, deliberately went up to the girl and I said " Oh dear, shit was it dear ? Never mind, you'll have to go and get your own now then". And of course all your other little lambs have to follow this particular one...So of course she sort of had it in for me and got them all grouping up then'* (BB, 3)

And Celia referring to groups: *'I'll stand no nonsense. I'm very polite to them when they come in and I'm like a lamb, "Oh good evening gentlemen, hope you all enjoy yourselves. Dah de dah" (said in sickly sweet manner). You know, very nice and that. But, they come down " Oh this come off in me 'and. Y'know" (mimicking yobbish accent) I say " Nothing comes off in your fucking hand!"...So all of a*

sudden I'm Jekyll and Hyde...I don't have a shabby hotel. And it can cost them' (BB, 19)

Phil at Jaydon was a little more subtle here but nevertheless showed how he controlled the 'banter' that could arise with groups of male guests.

Phil: *'We try not to have two different groups of lads because you know what boys are, one looks at the other one a bit funny and then they're fighting... with the lads there's always one that's got to prove himself. Sometimes they come in and they're serene and no problem. Others, if I say "Anyone want another sausage?" they'll say "I'll have another breakfast if you've got it" So I say "OK pay up". That sort of thing'* (J2, 7; J2, 10)

ESTABLISHING BOUNDARIES THROUGH 'NEGOTIATION'

Respect

In contrast to taking a 'control' approach, some hoteliers appeared to establish the boundaries of guest behaviour through negotiation. The following examples all refer to the notion of 'respect' as a way to approach this.

Derek at Quivern: *'We expect them to act with due respect to other guests'* (Q, 7)

Pam at Solent House: *'We expect our guests to act with respect and we trust them to act with respect...I think if you respect guests they respect you. And in general we don't have any problems...respect is just the main thing, yeah'* (S, 1-3)

Judy at Eastleigh: *'...it's...our home...And it's upsetting when people don't treat our home as you'd expect'*. And Ellen, her daughter: *'Yeah, I mean I've got a lot of respect and hope people feel the same and if they don't it really annoys me'* (E, 3)

Phil at Jaydon: *'We actually had a group of lads turn up one day and Shirley said "Don't forget..." and he said "Yeah, treat it like our own" And they did'* (J2, 9)

Mike and Simon showed similar negotiated approaches.

Mike at Pebble Beach: *'We don't have too many rules...just common courtesy to other guests, stuff like not having your TV on full blast, things like that...the rules are not specified but you just expect a certain level of behaviour from people. I don't think people read them anyway so I don't think there's any point in putting signs up saying "Do this, do that, don't do this, don't do that". Nobody takes any notice. But just a common level of decency that people do follow...that's all we ask them to do'* (P1, 6-7)

Similarly Simon, Duty Manager of Durley Dunes explained what he says to guests: *"Please for the sake of the other guests, please respect other guests staying here after midnight"* (DD, 7)

Other hoteliers echoed expectations of courtesy and respect in lieu of 'rules'.

Max at Royden Court: *'Just being courteous. If you're coming in late, being mindful of the other guests'* (R1, 2)

Pam at Solent House took a similar line and implied some criticism of hoteliers who are more 'rule-bound': *'I mean we have stags and hens here and when they come in we don't say "Right ! You can't do this, you can't do that, you can't do the other; you've got to be this, you've got to be that"...And we've never had any problems. Yet I hear other hoteliers saying" Oh, I'm never having stags and hens again, they were terrible. I tell them not to do this and I tell them not to do that and they did this and did they did that"...It's respect...I ask people to be quiet when they come in... I don't actually lay any ground rules down'* (S, 5-6)

However, as Hazel at Everdene observed, guest behaviour could vary across different age groups.

Hazel: *'You get a feeling...the youngsters aged about twenty, they're just thoughtless. It's not they do it out of naughtiness, they just don't think. It is annoying if they leave the front door open...I mean they wouldn't leave their own front door open...I think the older generation are very respectful of things but some people don't, they'll wipe their feet on the chair or polish their shoe on the blanket, that sort of thing'* (EE, 6)

Max at Royden Court shared this sentiment, though Natalie countered his view to point out how a group of young people *did* behave appropriately when asked to 'respect' other guests.

Max: *'It's only the younger seventeen/eighteen year olds who maybe are a bit loud'* but Natalie noted: *'But most of the time they're really good as well...we've had the groups of girls who have gone out into Bournemouth and we've said " You know, if you can respect the other guests that are here" and we've not heard a peep when they've come back have we?'* (R2, 7)

Acceptance

Another way that hoteliers approached negotiating guest behaviour was to 'expect' and 'accept' how guests might behave. Most comments related to the expectation that alcohol would be involved, as illustrated in the following observations.

Shirley at Jaydon: *'...you've got to appreciate they drink..'* And does that worry you? *'No, only if...if you've got that one. If they're all OK...have a sleep...have a shower and then they go back out of a night. And that's all they want to do...by the time they get to Sunday they're getting slower and slower (said slowly) and slower ...And when they come in they're all "Whoah" and Jack the Lad, but by the time they go they're like marauding'* (J2,7)

And Marion at Newmount: *'If it's a group you expect them to be noisy, you expect them to be loud, you expect them to get drunk, and if you expect that then you accept that...I've never had any trouble with them and I don't think I ever will'* (N, 8)

And Denise at Tipton commented: *'As long as you do it with a certain amount of humour...I do say have a good time down the town, but do remember when you come back...and they all say "Yes". But it's no good being miserable with them when they come in...it's no good being miserable with people...you either agree to take them. Once you've agreed to take them then it's your responsibility to deal with it as best you can...you just have to accept it if you take them'* (T, 14)

Guests behaving as 'at home'

Other hosts' alluded to their acceptance of guests behaving as if they were at home.

Rebecca at Chinedale: *'It's actually quite nice when people say "I feel like I'm at home" when they come down in their slippers...we've even had people who've come to breakfast with their pyjamas...If it's not upsetting anyone else...I mean one lady came in with her hair in rollers and everything!' And how did other guests react? 'I think they all looked a bit surprised but were very polite and didn't say anything. And she didn't bat an eyelid!...but in a way it's nice that they feel so at home...but I think if people came down with no T-shirt on or no shoes and things, I think we'd quietly ask them to dress a bit more appropriately or whatever...But if it's not offending anybody...then we would probably let that go, because...if they are feeling homely, the chances are they will come back' (C, 9)*

Shirley and Phil at Jaydon, and Natalie at Royden Court gave similar tales.

Shirley: *'The other week we had four girls...coming down for breakfast in their pyjamas. And they said "Well you don't mind do you?" They quite happily didn't'. So did you say anything to them? 'Well no, because they come down when everyone else had gone anyhow. I mean they were pyjamas, they weren't nothing...we sort of went "Oh!"...It felt comfortable because we felt they were comfortable with us. That made us feel comfortable. We don't rule with a rod of iron although we do have our limitations. We don't rule with a rod of iron, but...' (J1, 7)*

Natalie: *'There was a family, like she was laid on that settee and the little boy was laying on this settee. I mean you wouldn't do that if you didn't feel comfortable really' (R1, 8)*

Handling Difficult Situations

A last area where hoteliers appeared to negotiate the boundaries of guest behaviour was in handling 'difficult' host-guest interactions. One example involved dealing with a sensitive medical issue, as Hazel at Everdene explained.

Hazel: *'We've got one or two couples, one in particular that comes for the month of June and she's got a colostomy bag. So they smell. They don't smell of that they smell of disinfectant, they overuse the disinfectant...When they first brought this thing...I didn't know what to think!...it doesn't put me out. I do worry that people are going to moan about the smell but nobody ever has, nobody's said anything. I mean sometimes they've come down to dinner, especially when it's warm and I know when they've walked in the dining room...because of that smell of disinfectant' (EE, 7)*

Heather at Zealands faced the challenge of asserting herself with 'unreasonable' guest requests.

Heather: *'We've had one awkward gentleman...the first morning he presented me with his washing bag..."Could you do this for me Heather?"... "Er no"...he needed a bit of putting in his place. But fine once you did that...But given an inch he would have taken a yard' (Z2, 7)*

In a second example, Heather contrasted two families, one who she felt were unreasonable and the other who were 'no bother'.

Heather: '*...again, it's the parents isn't it?...we had one set of parents...they brought everything...they brought everything...and they had it all in the room in the wardrobe, there was no mess...fantastic, fantastic...no bother at all...we had another couple...the first night...when I'm doing evening meals for everybody else, they wanted some spaghetti warmed up. And this is right in the middle of trying to get started and get things out. And Ken said "Oh for God's sake, got a week of this!"...But there were fine. I think they got the vibes that I wasn't happy about that...*' (Z2, 19)

In another example Heather illustrated how guest behaviour could sometimes surprise hoteliers. In this case Heather had anticipated problems but found quite the reverse.

Heather: '*We had a couple...and their fourteen year old son, and they were big, they were all big people. And I said "The only way I can get you in is to put a Z-bed in the room" and she said "Fine"...and they walked in and they were enormous and I thought "Oh for goodness sake"...But they managed! They managed remarkably...that room every morning...it was immaculate...it was immaculate'* She likened this to how older guests tend to behave: '*Older people...it tends to be like there's nobody there. They make the beds...and fold up the quilt covers...You really just can't tell*' (Z2, 20)

However, Heather also gave an account of Walter's visit, an elderly guest towards whom she clearly felt some sympathy, as he reminded her of her 'Granddad', but who also caused her considerable frustration with his escalating demands. Here Heather explained how she negotiated the boundaries of Walter's behaviour.

Heather: '*We had a gentleman, Walter, who came for two weeks...I'd sort of picked up the vibes from different people that Walter was a bit awkward... in fact he wasn't awkward...he reminded me of my Granddad really...while he was here he had a bad foot and he couldn't go out, and he just sat in that chair, for two weeks...I just couldn't get on with anything...I just felt I ought to keep bringing him cups of tea...and having a chat...it was a long two weeks...But he was no problem, he was no problem...The first Sunday he's here, Ken's mum comes over...she's about his age and we sat her with him...for a bit of company...I think he thought he was God's gift did Walter!...before she came the next Sunday he wanted to get some chocolates...I said to him "If I've got time I'll take you" And you know every minute, "Have you got time yet? Are you ready? Have you got time now?" And in the end Ken came home...and I said "For God's sake before I go out of my mind can you take Walter into Boscombe?!"...This was the only thing on his mind and he had to do it' (Z2, 7)*

One final account illustrates the tensions that can arise when host and guest expectations are misaligned, but also how seeing the humour can 'lighten' such situations. Mark at Dalebourne could barely contain his laughter as he re-told this encounter.

Mark: '*A classic was, and this again was the Fawlty Towers one about "I can't see the beach or the sea"..."Well what did you expect to see in Torquay? A herd of wildebeest perhaps?!"...this guy came back down to reception having checked in and said "I asked for a room overlooking the sea" and he wasn't ...Well, the Dalebourne front looks on to Panorama Road, and the back looks over the sea.*

And I accosted him...and said "Look, I'm ever so sorry but you did not. You asked for a room at the front of the hotel". And he said "Well surely you realised when I said front I meant back!" He actually said those words to me!! Can you imagine?! So you meet some delightful characters...' (D, 15)

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In the context of the emotionalities surrounding the host-guest relationship that I explored in Chapter 6, this chapter identified how emotion management is used in three main ways to construct that relationship; defining who is the 'guest', establishing the nature of host-guest interactions, and establishing boundaries of guest behaviour. I will summarise what I consider to be the main findings for each of these areas.

USING EMOTION MANAGEMENT TO DEFINE WHO IS THE GUEST evoked two principal responses from hosts, that of 'control' and 'negotiation.'

Control included:

- Excluding certain types of guest or social groups, based for example on the owner's values and the hotel identity
- Managing impressions of guests using arbitrary criteria, such as appearance
- Using 'rules' to 'screen' suitable guests
- Evicting unsuitable guests

Negotiating involved:

- Judging and deciding guests' suitability, often based on appearance and the work they might generate
- Implementing decisions by being direct, using 'ruses and excuses' and/or trusting one's 'gut feel'
- Assessing if guests 'fit' the hotel image
- Fostering 'ideal' guests

USING EMOTION MANAGEMENT TO ESTABLISH THE NATURE OF HOST-GUEST INTERACTIONS comprised four main dimensions:

Hosts' feelings toward the host-guest relationship such as:

- whether it *is* a relationship
- how comfortable hosts feel about interacting with guests
- how hosts interpret 'informality' in these interactions
- how associations of the hotel as a 'home' influence sentiments such as 'relaxed', 'friendly', 'welcoming' and 'homely' in the interactions
- how and why hosts seek to 'know' their guests
- how hosts use the symbolism of 'personal touches' to support these interactions and how this is challenged in the corporate sector

Hosts' roles that emerged were:

- 'host'
- 'professional' and 'owner'
- a friendly style

- professional *and* friendly
- caring
- surrogate role (such as 'mum' or 'grandfather')

Hosts' experiences of interactions with guests included:

- Being 'friends' with guests
- Being 'intimate' friends
- Treating guests as 'just guests'
- Being 'natural' in the interactions
- Adopting an 'act'
- Using a mix of being 'natural' and 'acting'
- Coping with difficult interactions
- 'Reading' guests' needs
- Protecting hosts' privacy and managing host-guest space

Hosts' perceptions of how guests view the host-guest relationship evoked two particular issues:

- A generally positive effect on hosts when guests say 'thank you', but also the 'hurt' of negative feedback
- The need for hosts to respond to guest attitudes, ranging from transactional, and the expectation of servitude, to relational, often manifested through guest loyalty

USING EMOTION MANAGEMENT TO ESTABLISH BOUNDARIES OF GUEST BEHAVIOUR also involved a 'controlled' or 'negotiated' approach.

Control was effected by:

- Rules to prevent or limit errant guest behaviour
- A 'speech', setting out the boundaries of acceptable behaviour
- 'Controlling' guest behaviour during the stay, by hosts articulating their values and controlling host-guest space
- Encouraging an 'appropriate' dress code
- Challenging unacceptable behaviour, for example, directly and/or with humour

Negotiation involved the following:

- Expecting, and behaving with, respect – hence few rules
- Acceptance that some behaviours can be expected such as drunkenness
- Tolerating and even welcoming guests behaving 'as at home'
- Handling difficult situations, sensitively, firmly and/or with humour.

Chapter 8

'EMOTION MANAGEMENT' IN NEGOTIATING THE HOST-GUEST RELATIONSHIP

Four sub-themes were generated from my data here; emotion work to do 'hospitality work', emotion management to deal with abuse of hotel facilities, emotion management to deal with inappropriate guest behaviour, and managing emotion in vulnerable and threatening situations.

EMOTION WORK TO DO HOSPITALITY WORK

My data revealed two main issues that seemed to challenge hoteliers in doing the hospitality work needed to support the host-guest relationship, the nature of 'hospitality work' itself and the work/load it generates. These two areas thus constitute this first section of the chapter.

EMOTION WORK TO COPE WITH THE NATURE OF 'HOSPITALITY WORK'

Pleasure

Some hoteliers intimated positive feelings about the work, with their use of the term 'enjoy'.

Ruby at Ankara: *'I don't mind setting the rooms up. I quite enjoy doing that'* (AA, 11)

Just at Eastleigh: *'We did enjoy it, there's no doubt about it, and we still enjoy seeing the guests that we've had for many many years, coming back...We enjoy that aspect'* (EE, 5)

Others implied 'good' feelings in having a 'laugh' or 'joke' in the course of their work.

Ellen at Eastleigh: *'We do have a laugh with the guests and amongst ourselves. We laugh at silly things we do'* (E, 10)

Bert at Haydon Lodge: *'What makes it worthwhile is the guests...you can have a joke with them...with a lot of them'* (H, 11)

Others seemed to derive 'good' feelings from the intrinsic nature of the work, as Hazel at Everdene exemplified.

Hazel: *'Doing a mountain of towels and getting them clean, it is quite satisfying. Going to a mess and having it tidy...you know what I mean?'* (EE, 12)

Rich at Kamarillo was far more effusive about his 'love' of cleaning, and Donna at Violet Court emphasised her 'pride'.

Rich: *'It's going to sound sad but I love cleaning. I love cleaning...I do, I do...I like to see people's faces when they go into the room and they go "Wow", you know'* (K1, 9)

Donna: *'I still enjoy...I like the fact that I go out of the room and look back at it...And it's me that's done that, and so I still get that sense of satisfaction...and it's*

a pride really. I don't have to send somebody else up there to do it and then run up after them to make sure. Which I know I would do, no matter how much I trusted someone, I would still feel this, this is my rooms and part of me thinks "Well I might as well do it myself" because...it's not like I don't have time to do my hotel. This is my job...I just enjoy being here...and I just enjoy the work really' (V, 12)

Pain

However, the work could also evoke negative emotions, conveyed through hoteliers' descriptions of it. For example Ruby would go 'mad' if she had to do the 'hard' work, whilst Hazel felt the shopping was a 'pain', Bert felt the work was a 'necessity' which he did not actually 'enjoy', and Heather 'hates' doing the beds.

Ruby at Ankara: 'I'd go mad if I had to do the stairs and bathrooms...I don't think I'd enjoy it so much if I didn't have a cleaner. The hard stuff like the stairs, the dining room. And...she'll come in and clean up the kitchen ...Sometimes that gets on my nerves' (AA, 11)

Hazel at Everdene: '...the shopping is a pain...it's just that sort of thing gets me' (EE, 12)

Bert at Haydon Lodge: 'The work is a necessity. I don't even really actually enjoy the work because it's always things like...someone breaks something in the room... and the decoration is ongoing. It's like the Forth Bridge...I do virtually everything' (H, 11)

Heather at Zealands: '...I've found it just as quick to be quite honest as to tell somebody else what to do. So it gets quicker...I change the beds in half the time that I could. I hate doing it, but I just do it without thinking I do. I think "Oh, it's got to be done"' (Z2, 4)

For Rich at Kamarillo however, it was the repetitious nature of the work he found trying, as he emphasised here.

Rich: 'Some mornings I think "Oh God, another cooked breakfast!"...especially if there's somebody...they want an early breakfast. And you think "Oh God, 7 o'clock or whatever" But I don't mind, I don't mind doing it' (K2, 3; K2, 9)

Some hosts also referred to the effect of doing the work over a sustained period of time, as Judy at Eastleigh exemplified.

Judy: 'Well I'm jaded now ...my husband and I have got to the point that we don't want to be here anymore' (E, 5)

However, Rebecca at Chinedale revealed that overall, the work could elicit mixed emotions as her description here illustrates.

Rebecca at Chinedale about the aspects she does not like: 'Sometimes it's the cooking...that grinds you down. The dinners...it does lengthen your day...Sometimes if there is just one person that wants dinner you think "Oh no"...it's a lot of work for that one person. But in the summer you look at it differently because there's a lot of people in...It's nicer...more fun and that...But sometimes...if it goes on day after day, early start, late finishes because people are in the bar till the early hours in the morning, you know...that's something where you want to say "That's it, I want to go

to bed” And you can’t. And you find that hard sometimes...it’s something you don’t think about I think as a guest in a hotel. You just stay here and enjoy yourself. You don’t think that someone’s tired and maybe wants to go to bed...it’s nice in the summers...though that’s probably the hardest time to do it (the bar) because it’s your busiest time. But...it’s quite a nice social thing, and the weather’s nice so you feel better. But in the winter when you’ve got to get up early and it’s dark and miserable and someone’s nursing half a pint...that’s when it’s tough’ (C, 6)

Denise at Tipton more succinctly described how the complexities of the work could elicit mixed emotions.

Denise: *‘There’s always surprises, there’s always disappointments...There’s always good things and bad things’* (T, 13)

‘Dirty Work’

An aspect of the work that hoteliers understandably disliked was the ‘dirty’ side. Celia’s facial expression conveyed her disgust as she described how she dealt with the ‘dirty’ work created by asylum seekers.

Celia at Brightsea: *‘You had to do their washing. I’d hold out the black bag with my nose in the opposite direction to put their clothes in’* (BB, 5).

She continued: *‘...the asylum seekers, when I decided to kick those into touch...we had to strip the rooms...You can’t just send the curtains to the cleaners...It’s impregnated in the walls, the smell. So you literally had to throw everything away...to get rid of the smell’* (BB, 6)

Donna at Violet Court was even more graphic in her descriptions of dealing with three incidents that created considerable ‘dirty work’. Her use of phrases such as ‘a real heave job’ and ‘disgusting’ together with her regular reference to the ‘smell’ gave some indication as to how these incidents made Donna feel. And like Celia, she too conveyed her disgust through her facial expressions, as she recalled these experiences.

Donna, about having to clear up after an alcoholic: *‘He’d tried to clean himself with our towels which he put in the laundry bin...and the smell in the room was just unbelievable...that was a real heave job and I was like “Oh my God”...that room was then out of action for three of four days because of scrubbing the floors and trying to air it’* (V, 15).

Donna, about a man who entertained a prostitute: *‘Because he hadn’t been out of the room it obviously smelt horrible...and as I went into the toilet it was overflowing and he’d wee’d all in the shower, in the toilet brush holder, he’d wee’d in the sink. And so I was there with a big rubber glove up to my shoulder!’* (V, 16)

Donna, about an elderly guest who had been booked in by relatives that had described her as ‘a country bumpkin’: *‘I went into the bedroom and it really made me heave...The radiators were on and she’d got one of her tena lady’s hanging over the radiator drying out. And so I had to change all the bed because she’d obviously had an accident...throw this tena lady out, open all the windows. And I opened the wardrobe and she’d put her dirty tights in the wardrobe so that absolutely heaved. So I took everything out...I took the whole lot out and I washed them. And every single morning I had to wash all the bedclothes and all the little*

bits...I used to have to get Paul to go in there ...first and open the windows because the initial smell it actually made me heave...I don't have a particularly strong constitution...it wasn't until it settled down a bit I managed to go in. I had a mask on, rubber gloves. But it was the fact that this tena lady was hanging over the radiator to dry out! (laughs). It was absolutely disgusting, I just did not know what to do with this lady...that was quite hard I have to say. That was a pretty difficult week. A very stressful week that was' (V, 17)

Capability and Confidence

Others directly referred to how they felt about 'performing' the work. Phil at Jaydon for example talked about being 'calm' if he 'helps' with breakfasts, but that he 'can't cope' on his own. He also said how he found the maintenance 'a bit daunting' and 'just couldn't bear' the thought of it.

Phil: 'The bits I don't like doing are the rooms...I'll help Shirley willingly, but I don't like doing the rooms...I'll help Shirley do breakfast, then I'm calm. If there's a lot of people here I can't cope on my own...coordination with all the bits and pieces. I try to get it right but do the kitchen when it's done...' He added, '...the maintenance side of it was a bit daunting. I just couldn't bear the thought of the maintenance side of it' (J2, 13)

Max at Royden Court echoed Phil's concerns about the cooking, and Rich at Kamarillo similarly expressed how maintenance issues made him feel.

Natalie from Royden Court explained: 'I do all the cooking but I'm trying to get Max to do it...' to which Max replied 'I'm all right when there's no pressure on you' (R1, 4)

Rich: 'I'm really sick to be honest, I'm living on my nerves...we've got a boiler on the top floor and we've been trying to get a gasman out to it for the last three weeks...I think "God". It does your head in' (K2, 14)

Sandra at Maple Lodge also expressed worries about the cooking, but actually found the bedrooms more challenging.

Sandra: 'The one thing I was worried about was cooking and I thought I wouldn't mind doing the bedrooms and I never touch the bedrooms. I hate the bedrooms, now that really is hard work' (M, 12)

Others admitted similar concerns about their capabilities.

Sheila at Beechlands: 'I like cooking, but I panic. I'm sacred stiff of it going wrong. I am absolutely tearing my hair out as soon as I go in...I had some businessmen here...and they wanted to book for twelve for next autumn. And I said "I don't want to start panicking about it now"' (B, 8)

Natalie at Royden Court: 'It is stressful sometimes and obviously it's a learning curve for both of us and hard work...I mean the first breakfast I had to cook was on Christmas Day and that was for a full house...I was so nervous my hands were shaking. We got up two hours earlier. We got everything out and all prepared and it was like "Right, what do we do now then? Two hours to go". But it went really well' (R1, 5)

Heather at Zealands: *'I was a little worried about...the evening meals. It's quite daunting, when you've all of a sudden got fourteen evening meals...And you've got to do it right...The first few weeks I was a bit " Oh Gosh, somebody's waited, they've been waiting ten minutes...Aaahhh..." but I don't anymore...if they have to wait ten minutes they have to wait ten minutes, if they want the food fresh...I don't worry anymore...I do it as quick as I can and nobody's ever complained'* (Z2, 17)

Natalie at Royden Court also explained how she used humour to deal with such situations.

Natalie: *'Last week...we were quite busy and everybody decided to come down for breakfast at the same time...I walked in and I was like " Ah, right. OK Well which one wants to be served first??" So I just made a joke about it but that just comes naturally and they all just laughed and I just got on with it. But...I was like "Ooh! This hasn't happened before!"'* (R1, 15)

Derek at Quivern presented a different perspective, describing the scope of the work.

Derek: *'You've got to be able to think on your feet. You've got to be a bit of a jack-of-all-trades, Master-of-None...Just a bit of everything. It's like having a big house'* (Q, 12)

Unchallenging and Uncomplicated

Another perspective of hospitality work to which some hoteliers referred was that, although it could be hard, it wasn't 'difficult'. Terry at Woodley summed up this view that,

'I knew it wasn't rocket science. And it's not, frankly...I carry bags, I make toast, what I do is not rocket science. It's not like doing marketing...I carry bags, I answer queries' (W, 17; W, 21)

Chas and Pam echoed this sentiment, though they both implied that, as Pam put it, *'you can make a real mess of it'*.

Chas at Chesildene: *'It's not a difficult business to run'* Asked if he meant it wasn't 'rocket science', he replied *'No it isn't, but you can make it rocket science'* (CC, 13)

Pam at Solent House: *'It's not difficult really. But then, well you can make a real mess of it as well'* (S, 3)

Hazel at Everdene concurred, that it is *'Not the shock like some people say it is'* (EE, 1). However, Phil at Jaydon gave a slightly different emphasis, implying that he found the work tedious and repetitive, but also fun.

Phil: *'It's the same old, same old, every day, with differences. And sometimes, oh it can be hilarious stories'* (J1, 17)

Personality

Hoteliers also implied that their different personalities influenced how they approached the work.

Bert at Haydon Lodge: *'Angela's a bit more bouncy...boom, boom, boom, let's do this, let's do that. I'm a bit more...laid back'* (H, 1)

And Shirley at Jaydon laughed when asked if she and Phil were similar personalities: *'No, no! Totally different, totally different. I get up in the morning and I already set myself jobs and I get on and get done with it. Phil's like "Do you want another cup of coffee?"'* (J1, 13)

And Mike about himself and partner Fay: *'Fay is more a "live for now" sort of person whereas I'm more looking into the future'* (P2, 4)

And Anne about herself and husband Steve: *'...we're different personalities and so that works. Steve is very relaxed and I tend to worry'* (X, 3)

For Donna at Violet Court, the effect of being different personalities clearly impacted on a key part of the work, as she explains here.

Donna: *'We do not like each other at breakfast ...breakfast here is very much like Fawlty Towers. We do not like each other, we don't work terribly well for that two hour session...we do have quite a few arguments over the breakfast time...if there's going to be any stress in my life, it's breakfast time...hopefully it's out of earshot! I've only actually ever ever had one guest, and that was unfortunate...she followed me out and sat on the stairs. And I didn't know she was there! And I had a real go at Paul about not getting the scrambled egg ready and he was shouting at me "I can't work any faster!!" (shouting) and as I walked through she was sitting on the stairs. I just looked at her and went "I bought a set of knives yesterday and now I know what I bought them for!"...it is only breakfast we tend to lose the plot a bit...' (V, 13)*

Gender

Others revealed how gender could shape the way they approached the work. Shirley, Natalie and Heather all alluded to jobs they considered men might find challenging, with Shirley explaining how she encouraged Phil to tackle unfamiliar tasks.

Shirley at Jaydon: *'Phil hadn't done anything in the house before we moved, he put washing in, he'd do the dishwasher, but he never Hoover or anything like that. So it was a bit of a culture shock for him... But the thing is, you can't tell a man what to do...So it was like "Well if I go and do that do you mind doing that?" And if he went "Yeah that's OK" I thought "Right, we're in there!". So that as the way I personally done it...he's in charge of tea and toast and I do the rest'* (J1, 3)

Natalie at Royden Court: *'We haven't got any staff here at the moment so Max cleans the rooms and makes the beds which personally I would feel would be a lady's job to do that. And Max does it really well'* (R2, 14)

Heather at Zealands: *'I wouldn't expect Ken to do the cooking. No...I mean he does help and do the showers and sinks and things, not the Hoovering because men don't really Hoover into the corners do they?'* (Z2, 22)

Sandra at Maple Lodge gave a different perspective, suggesting that her husband 'goes missing' and that she's not really sure what he does – but that *'the two girls and myself, we get on very well'*.

Sandra: *'My husband is very very clever at us all never knowing where he is. He is always doing that...he's always in the garage doing something. He's very clever at that. But the two girls and myself, we get on very well, but he tends to stay out of the way quite a lot'* (M, 10)

However, Shirley at Jaydon summed up the joys and sorrows of running a hotel together.

Shirley: *'We have our moments. There's been a few tears. But we've also had a lot of fun as well. A lot of fun'* (J1, 4)

Staff

Finally, some hoteliers revealed how they felt about having staff to help them. Max and Heather implied that they would rather do the work themselves, Max because he doesn't like 'telling' someone else to do it, and Heather because she has to 'check' what someone else has done. In contrast, whilst Natalie clearly experienced some exasperation with a young helper, she persisted in 'training' her.

Max at Royden Court: *'I tend to just get on and do it myself because I can't tell someone to do it'* (R2, 18)

Heather at Zealands about a 15-year old girl helper: *'She was dead excited "Oh yeah...I'll call on Saturday" and she did. For the first couple of weeks it was fine...When I say she was fine, she was OK. But I found myself going round and doing the jobs again...because she's only fifteen. And much as she got better I still found myself going round checking everything. So I thought I might as well be doing this myself!'* (Z2, 4)

Natalie at Royden Court: *'We've got a lovely girl ...and I asked her to brush down the stairs...But she started from the bottom and was brushing upwards! And I was like "No! You need to start from the top and then work down..." I thought, "What is she doing?" But she got it in the end!'* (R2, 18)

EMOTION WORK TO COPE WITH THE 'WORKLOAD'

A key issue that emerged about the workload involved in running a hotel was the sheer number of hours involved. A frequent expression was that it was 'hard' work that took a lot of time, and could mean hoteliers felt 'tied' to the business.

Daily Hours – Long Hours

A number of hoteliers said how they felt about 'doing' the work by describing it as 'hard'.

Rebecca at Chinedale: *'I think we always knew it would be hard work...you don't quite appreciate how much work goes on behind the scenes...And it has to be done when it has to be done...its all the extra hours that you don't sort of think about...preparation of food...There's a lot of hours before that, that you're putting in'* (C, 1)

Hazel at Everdene: *'...dinner...is really becoming quite hard work'* (EE, 2)

Bert at Haydon Lodge: *'Dinners...they're a lot of work and take up an extraordinary part of the day...We put up with it because it's essential'* (H, 11)

Sandra at Maple Lodge: *'It can be very very hard work'* (M, 8)

Some referred to the sheer number of hours involved and how this could affect them.

Sean at Ainsley: *'Our perception was, that even with two of us doing it, it would be very hard work, that we'd have very little time for ourselves; that it'd be seven days a week, 365 days a year...we didn't realise the hours would be so long ... spending all day preparing the meal...there was no time for anything else'* (A, 2)

Mark at Dalebourne: *'The working regime...this was literally 24 hours 365 days of the year'* (D, 30)

Mike at Pebble Beach: *'I do 150 hours a week and I do that every week. And I wonder how long you can sustain that level of commitment and enthusiasm particularly when I'll be predominantly be doing it on my own... I can do it, it's just that I can't do it for long'* (P1, 14)

Terry at Woodley and Donna at Violet Court alluded to the 'never-ending' nature of the work.

Donna at Violet Court: *'There are times when it's very difficult, you do seem to be constantly on the go'* (V, 8)

Terry at Woodley: *'Sometimes it's a little bit overwhelming the sheer volume of things to be done...it's a business built for a workaholic, which I am not...as I have said..."it never stops"'* (W, 13)

Linked to perceptions that the work is 'hard' and 'constant', a number referred to finding it 'tiring'. Judy and Ellen at Eastleigh and Anne at Xanadu explained how this could be exacerbated if the hotelier did not 'feel 100%'.

Judy and Ellen at Eastleigh: *'In the middle of a busy season you can get very tired...if one of you is ill it's hard on everyone else and you've got the added pressure'* (E, 4)

Anne at Xanadu: *'Obviously if you don't feel 100% - you feel a bit grotty, with illness...it can be difficult but you just have to get on with it...the biggest problem is that I get tired and when I get tired I get short-tempered'* (X, 1-3)

For Mike at Pebble Beach, the tiredness was linked to establishing his new hotel 'product' and he recognised he could only sustain this in the short-term, summing up that he felt 'numb'.

Mike at Pebble Beach: *'It's hard at times when I'm tired and we have a barbecue until two in the morning and I have to be up at seven, but I can stand tiredness for a short duration. I can put up with it as long as it's not going to last forever...What do I feel about the work? Numb. I'm very very tired, and just numb. But I can see the long-term vision so I can deal with it. Not forever, but I can deal with it to see the product evolve'* (P2, 2; P2, 6)

Heather at Zealands also conveyed the weariness felt by herself and her husband.

Heather: *'Tiring. Very very tiring...just there's no, no let up...every single morning you have to get up and do breakfast...I don't think we've had a lie-in since April...a lie in would be lovely'* (Z2, 1)

Heather, about husband Ken: *'He's tired...he worked in the summer the whole time and he was helping me with breakfasts...then if somebody wants a drink...you felt one of you had to be in there, you know. And sometimes...it's one o'clock and...sometimes you think,. But these people are on holiday... we can't be saying "OK, bed!" So he was tired...it's just sometimes you don't want to be standing there, especially now when you've done it all summer'* (Z2, 5-6)

Being 'tied'

Another aspect of the workload to which hoteliers referred was feeling 'tied'. Ruby, Rich, Mike and Pam all alluded to how this resulted from the hours involved and the nature of the business, and as Mike explained it *'does put a strain on the relationship'*.

Ruby at Ankara: *'You are tied...the days can be long...sometimes ten/eleven o'clock at night I've got guests arriving'* (AA, 12)

Rich at Kamarillo: *'...you feel a little bit tied to the place, that's the only pitfall. It's not bad if you've got people in for a week, you've got every room full...then you know you've got time off...you can go out. But if you've got people coming in...one night here and one night there...it's constant then'* (K1, 11)

Mike at Pebble Beach about the downsides of running a hotel: *'Being so tied at the moment...doing the cooking, serving and talking to people in the bar, checking people in and seeing them off...it does put a strain on the relationship'* (P2, 6)

Pam at Solent House echoed Mike's view, that: *'Being tied to the job is probably the biggest downside'* (S, 10)

Others implied that being 'tied' to the business impacted on having a 'life outside', as Sean and Shirley revealed here.

Sean at Ainsley: *'You're tied to the place, so it's very difficult to get out of here, to have a life outside...It's still difficult to get away but we have changed how we do things'* (A, 2)

Shirley at Jaydon: *'You're tied to it yeah, And you're tied in so much if people say...I won't be there till eight o'clock...that was the first thing that hit us that some of these hoteliers never go out. They're so frightened of leaving their doors'* (J1, 14)

Creating Private Time

Not unconnected to feeling 'tied' to the work was the challenge that some hoteliers faced managing time for themselves, both within and outside the hotel premises. Though difficult, Anne at Xanadu commented that it could be done.

Anne: *'Obviously it's difficult to have time for each other but we manage'* (X, 2)

Sheila, Shirley and Rich expressed similar sentiments.

Sheila at Beechlands: *'Once my guests have come, then my time's mine...And I can usually get away for a couple of hours'* (B, 10)

Shirley at Jaydon: *'If we've had enough we can go and shut ourselves off, we lock the door and that's it'* (J1, 3)

Rich at Kamarillo: *'...it is nice to have that door where you can sort of...after 9 o'clock that's it, sort of thing. You need your own time...Otherwise you would be on all the time'* (K2, 7)

However, as Natalie at Royden Court reported 'protecting' that 'private' time could be difficult.

Natalie: *'Sometimes I find it difficult in the evening when we've finished all our duties and we're watching a film and relaxing and the phone rings late at night...last night for instance, I was watching that Day after Tomorrow and it was right towards the end and the phone rang and it's like 10 o'clock. And I thought...it was just an enquiry and I found that a bit annoying to be honest'* (R2, 16)

Terry and Heather expanded on this theme, commenting on coping with the lack of privacy.

Terry at Woodley: *'You sacrifice your privacy... at some level you are on duty 24 hours a day'* (W, 20)

Heather at Zealands: *'There is no privacy...that takes a bit of getting used to...There are some nights when you just want to watch the telly and perhaps somebody wants a drink in the bar...there's times, like I always used to get up and have a shower in the morning...I don't anymore because I'm tired. So it's grabbing a shower in the day... Sometimes you think "Oh, just go away and leave me in peace". And having a lie-in, not having a Sunday when you don't have to get up till nine. I do miss that'* (Z2, 2; Z2, 15)

For Marion at Newmount, managing 'my time' was critical to functioning effectively as an hotelier, as she explained in detail here.

Marion: *'When I get up in the morning I have my full pot of coffee in my nightie then I go upstairs and have my shower and put my face on and that's me for the day. And I don't go off duty again till I go back to my cubby-hole under the stairs...when I'm up and dressed I'm on duty. When I'm in my bedroom I'm off duty'* (N, 7)

Marion elucidated: *'Don't try and talk to me in the morning before I've had my shower! In December the pump went in my shower and I couldn't have a shower in the morning and by the end of the day I was literally hysterical, crying. I have to have my shower in the morning, nothing goes right if I don't have my shower. As long as I have my shower, everything's fine!...you psyche yourself up. You have a routine that you follow and that routine puts you in a certain frame of mind really doesn't it?...I think part of it is, that little period in the morning, it's only about an hour in the morning, that is my time, that is me time. And that is the only me time I have till I go to bed at night. So that's why it's so important to me. If the whole hotel fell down round about my head I'd deal with it, as long as I've had my shower in the morning!'* (N, 14)

Another challenge to managing time within the business was finding 'family' time and dealing with family issues such as illness and bereavement. The following comments are all attributed to hoteliers of large family hotels, except for Rebecca, who runs Chinedale with her husband and parents and has a small child.

Rebecca, about consciously fashioning 'family' time: *'We try to. I mean it's difficult...it's been difficult to do that because you've got to be open all the time, someone needs to be here all the time'* (C, 5)

Mary at Grasmere: *'In hindsight probably the reason we got divorced was because working together and living together was just too much'* (G, 6)

Jenny at Farley Court, about dealing with family illness: *I don't know how I did it, I really don't know how I did. I had a toddler of two and a half, my mother was ill in the hospital and I had a new baby...in one way it was very good because it kept me on the go, and didn't let me agonise so much about my mother'* (F, 6)

Vera at Yarmouth: *'It's very hard to turn off from your business, but you have to...you've got to have a separate life'* (Y, 5)

And Vera about coping with bereavement: *'Although you curse a business in times of bereavement it is also your saviour. It makes you get up in the morning'* (Y, 11)

Mark at Dalebourne, about making time for the family: *'We tried to but it wasn't always successful. Yes we tried to, to have like a specific day off but it didn't always work out, I must admit'* (D, 30)

Managing time away from the hotel was variously described by hoteliers as a 'necessity', which in Mike's case was 'to stay married'.

Hazel at Everdene advocated: *'Work your guts out...then have a holiday. We've just had three weeks...And we needed it. Because you're knackered at the end of the season. And when I'm tired I feel physically sick and when you start feeling like that at two o'clock in the afternoon and you've got to get through you think "This is silly". Because you can't be off ill'* (EE, 18)

Bert at Haydon Lodge about taking holidays: *'Well we have to really'* (H, 2)

Marion at Newmount: *'We usually get away 3 or 4 times a year...it's a necessity...we don't look at it as a holiday...it's not actually a holiday, it's seven days to recover'* (N, 12)

Mike at Pebble Beach: *'I've only had four days off since we opened and three of those were to get married and the other was to stay married!'* (P2, 4)

However, Heather for example found this hard to achieve.

Heather at Zealands: *'I feel as though there's always got to be someone here, I mean I'd like a walk on the beach or go out on my bike...yeah, that gets you down sometimes'* (Z2, 6)

Yet others explained that they organised the work to 'make time' for themselves.

Shirley at Jaydon: '*...sometimes we say...we're going to the theatre...We make time, we make time*' (J1, 14)

Donna at Violet Court: '*I do make time for myself...we came into this Paul and I not wanting it to be a 24-hour prison. So we make time*' (V, 8)

Terry at Woodley: '*I have arranged the whole running of this business so that TS has a life. Of sorts...*' (W, 2)

Heather at Zealands: '*We have got more time now...that's nice...time together...to sit down and have lunch together and chat...yeah...we've got more time together now than we've ever had really*' (Z2, 15)

However, as Max at Royden Court observed, compared to being employed, there were limitations on 'free' time for hoteliers.

Max: '*In the winter we need to go for walks...you just need to get out of the house...that's the difference to being employed when you have downtime to relax...we do...But it's not like a normal job where you have the whole day or weekend off. You maybe get a few hours but then the phone could ring*' (R2, 17)

One response to this was taking part-time work, as Rebecca at Chinedale explained about her part-time teaching job.

Rebecca: '*Gives me a break from the little one...and from the family. Because when you're 24 hours with your family...sometimes that's hard work...very hard work with your family. Because if you have something you're not happy about and you've got to tell your family they're the hardest people to criticise to say "I don't like the way you've done that"*' (C, 16)

Difficulties in finding 'time' for oneself and family, and feeling 'tied' to the business sometimes impacted on hoteliers' social contact.

Sheila at Beechlands: '*I must admit it's a very lonely job when you're on your own...I'm here most of the time on my own in the winter...I miss the company of people I used to work with*' (B, 14)

Donna at Violet Court: '*I can see how it can very easily be an extremely insular business to be in because I think you can shut yourself off, just have tunnel vision for your business and that alone*' (V, 9)

Rebecca at Chinedale about maintaining contact with friends: '*It's one thing you do miss...it's frustrating at times that you're so tied...we've got a lot of friends who are people who come here and see us and stay...they're our friends. It's very difficult to make friends because it's very difficult to get out, simply because of the hours we work. And the life we have. And sometimes that's frustrating*' (C, 18)

Seasonal Hours

Finally, hoteliers commented on the effect of the seasonality and predictability of the work. Chas at Chesildene and Mark at Dalebourne both concurred that the seasonal work is 'easier' in its predictability, whilst the quieter times can be 'very stressful' and 'terrible'.

Chas: *'With the bed and breakfast people, get up at seven thirty, serve breakfast, check them out, make the beds, put the sheets in the washing machine...Hang the washing out to dry, iron them in the evening for three hours, go to sleep absolutely shattered, get up next day and do it again. Very predictable. Lovely. Never a problem. It's always the same...the problems are the same every day, that's fine. And...we can see the end...you couldn't keep it up all year round, it'd exhaust you...I was flagging actually...I was flagging last summer. But then it got easier...you are tired but it's seasonal'* (CC, 10)

Mark: *'Summer months when you're full it was much easier because you knew you were going to be full'* (D, 12)

However, winter months presented a different picture.

Chas: *'...winter let guests...were always knocking on my door wanting this and that...you never know quite what it is right? ...What's very stressful is if somebody knocks on the door at nine o'clock in the evening saying "Oh the toilet's blocked" or "My wi-fi doesn't work"...That's when it becomes stressful'* (CC, 10)

Mark: *'Quieter periods were terrible because you'd be manning reception all day, get a couple of phone calls, one person book in'* (D, 12)

However, Ruby and Natalie could appreciate both periods of business.

Ruby at Ankara: *'This time of year's nice. I enjoy it because it's quieter...But then I love the summer when it's busy...I love that...At the moment I'm enjoying it being a bit quieter but I know when it gets to the full season I know I won't know which way to turn'* (AA, 12)

Natalie at Royden Court: *'Towards the end of the season...we were so so busy...and I thought "I can't wait until it quietens down" and now it has and now that's all over and I'm recharged and like now I'm ready'* (2, 16)

EMOTION MANAGEMENT OF BREACHES OF SOCIAL BOUNDARIES: ABUSE OF HOTEL FACILITIES

In Chapter 7 I discussed how hoteliers established boundaries of guest behaviour. However, even in the best-run establishment, given the inherent fragility of the host-guest relationship, those boundaries may be breached. Hence if host and guest expectations do not align, the social order of the hotel may be threatened, and this may be a particular issue where the hotel is also the owner's home. This then presents a dilemma for the hotelier, whether they should treat strangers in the spirit of 'traditional' hospitality or as potentially suspicious commercial clients. As shall be seen in this chapter, trust and judgement appeared key to how hoteliers responded here.

Three issues emerged from my data concerning this sub-theme; hoteliers who took 'no action' toward abuse of facilities, those who reacted and took action, and those who took proactive measures to forestall further instances. Within these responses, hoteliers were faced with any of the following; untidiness, 'dirty work', damage, theft, and fraud.

NO ACTION

Here, hoteliers seemed to fall into two main groups; those who 'accepted' what had happened and did not appear to be adversely affected by it, and those who accepted it but were still annoyed or angry.

Acceptance and 'Indifference'

Three hoteliers appeared to 'accept' abuse to facilities but did not reveal anger or annoyance, suggesting they felt it was to be expected as integral to running a hotel.

Sheila at Beechlands: *'I've had things get broken and I'm very good, I don't say "Oh, you'll have to pay for that" I just put it down to experience' (B, 4)*

Natalie at Royden Court: *'That mark on the table is an example...that's part and parcel of the hotel' (R1,1)*

And Pam at Solent House: *'If it gets damaged, it gets damaged...I'm proud of what we have, but you can't be that proud because anything can get broken. Even in your own home' (S, 11)*

Acceptance and Affect

However, others clearly felt a range of emotions at the 'mess' some guests could create. Phil and Shirley at Jaydon seemed 'hurt' and felt '*dejected*', whilst Donna at Violet Court was incredulous that people could live in a mess. Heather at Zealands, on the other hand, was clearly very upset at the behaviour of one family.

Shirley and Phil comparing how two groups of girls treated the rooms: *'The four in Number 3, the room was absolutely pristine. Number 8 was like a bloody demolition site...My mouth just dropped open – bits and pieces all over...I feel a little bit dejected, I feel a little bit dejected. When you walk in a room and it's absolutely rotten' And in another example 'There was all white powder by the window. And I thought! "Oh dear" because white powder, it usually means drugs. I picked it up and it was soap! And I'm like "Why had somebody stood there and shredded the soap?" ...Some people believe they rent the room and they think it's theirs' (J2, 9).*

Donna at Violet Court: *'...a few people that will come to hotels...have no respect whatsoever and that's maybe how they live...quite often you walk into a room and you think "My God, that must be what people's houses are like"...they probably don't even notice they're walking into a clean tidy room because that's just not in their nature. And they will leave it how they've left their home...I don't like walking out of somebody's bedroom without making their bed and tidying and hoovering and that but...if that's how people want to leave their rooms they can't expect me to. And nobody has ever said anything. And that's what's quite amazing! That they're in for three or four nights and every morning the room's the same. So it can't worry them. I mean you do think "Do they actually sleep in the bed?!"' (V, 12; V, 14-15).*

Heather at Zealands: *'...I could have cried on one occasion. I thought "Gosh, what do they think I am?"...The people were nice, but the mess...dirty underwear and everything...one little girl, I think they felt that she'd like just draw a picture on my*

quilt, you know, felt tip. They did come down in the morning and say "Oh Jasmine's left a pattern on your quilt". Couldn't get it off...No offer to pay for the quilt or anything. It was just ruined, ruined. Scribbled all over the top of the telly. That came off...and like there was underwear all over...and they'd emptied their swimming costumes out into the loo...It was just one morning and I could have cried. I think "Oh God what do I do?"...Very nice people. Lovely presented people, you know, designer clothes, obviously moneyed, but God, the mess!' (Z2, 20)

In terms of damage to hotel facilities, this clearly annoyed Ruby and Mike, whilst Natalie was more cross at guests trying to cover it up. Donna offered a different perspective, that she used to take damage as a 'personal slight' but could now 'detach' herself from it, though it still made her 'annoyed' because she considered it 'disrespectful'.

Mike at Pebble Beach: 'I'd be annoyed if somebody damaged the hotel...whether it's seen as the home or the hotel wouldn't affect my annoyance. I'd be annoyed in general, because they'd damaged it...like when some plonker left the shower head off and water was pouring through the ceiling at 3 o'clock in the morning...I still don't get angry. The guest was more embarrassed' (P2, 3)

Ruby at Ankara: 'When damage is done I tend to lose it... I tend to have a very short fuse...I wouldn't necessarily be really rude. But...it's my home at the end of the day...I take great pride in trying to get the rooms up together and getting them nice, and I think, you know, it's important. So I tend to lose it...And when people take things, you know. I put ornaments in the bedrooms and things like that to make it look nice and homely, and things go walking. That does upset me, but then that's me personally. I probably wouldn't mention it to them. I'd just accept it' (AA, 9)

Natalie at Royden Court: '...we had a lady burn the top of the telly with her straighteners...and she just put a towel over the television so obviously it wasn't until she had gone that I noticed it was burnt...it did make me feel a bit cross, only for the fact that she had covered it up' (R1, 2)

Donna at Violet Court: 'If somebody damaged the room or something or pinched something that was a personal slight. Gradually I would say probably six months to a year, I started to detach myself'. However, she added 'I still get annoyed, don't get me wrong. Because I think that's very disrespectful...but I don't take it as a personal slight...it isn't my home, it's the business and the business can carry it...we just have to accept it that you've got people coming into your home' (V, 3-4)

Donna also reported her feelings towards a different form of abuse of the facilities, that of guests 'entertaining' people for whom they had not paid.

Donna at Violet Court about a guest who brought a prostitute back to his room ' I don't want someone in that I haven't met...I think it is a cheek. If they pay for a double room and they bring someone back I don't have a problem with it, I don't care what they do, what people do in their room when the door's shut, I can't have any control over. But I do think it's a bit unfair when men do that, when they pick someone from the streets. You've no idea what they're here for' (V, 20)

REACTION and ACTION

Reacting and taking action to hotel abuse could be done indirectly (for example, by making the guest feel 'uncomfortable'), by directly challenging the guest (for example by making him or her pay for damage), or by removing the guest from the hotel.

Indirect Action

Hazel at Everdene used an indirect approach when she caught guests bringing people into their rooms but could not get them to pay for the extra guests. Instead she drew some satisfaction from their evident discomfiture.

Hazel: 'We had some girls in...they brought these boys back and two of these boys had the cheek to come down for breakfast...I went upstairs ...and I said "You might like to pay for them as well". I didn't eventually get the money but...I don't think they enjoyed their second day because they were worried about giving me the money' (EE, 16)

Direct Challenge

A more common approach was to directly challenge guests who abused hotel facilities. Derek at Quivern for example confiscated appliances if student guests left them on, citing the 'horrendous' bills he had to bear.

Derek: 'We found some electric heaters in a room the other day and they were confiscated...They're only paying 80 odd pound a week. And the electricity bills are horrendous. Horrendous bills' (Q, 5-6)

Tackling a different issue Ruby at Ankara explained how she spoke directly to guests who had wet the bed.

Ruby: 'I'll just be straight really...I've put notes on the pillows "Please come down and see Ruby" and then take them away from everybody else. Nobody else need know, and then just mention it and then they normally deal with it' (AA, 10)

Celia at Brightsea was more critical of guests' behaviour, listing a litany of damage she had experienced and explaining how she recovered her costs.

Celia: 'I've had...grown men that wet beds...And puke up everywhere...They smash a bed. Put a hole in the wall...do all these different things...rip the radiators off the walls...you name it. Whatever you can think of, they do...But they don't tell you and they sneak out and they go...I was sick of going to different parts of the country to court...I won nine out of ten cases' (BB, 14)

Mark at Dalebourne also reported how he recovered the cost of damage to his hotel, and was clearly very indignant as he told me this story in the context of narrating how guest behaviour had changed in recent years.

Mark: 'We had a chap...it looked as though he'd wrecked a room. In fact all he had done, I say all, was to smash every light in the room, bedside lights...ceiling lights which were an open sort-of chandelier...they were all smashed. There was glass everywhere...I caught him and I said "Your room" and he said "My room?" And I said "Well do you mean to say this is how you live? Do you?" And he said " Oh

well..." and he just took a wad of notes out, peeled off a £50 note and effectively said to me, "Go away you silly little man, I don't want to be bothered with you". He was an over-paid oik. He'd paid for a room so it didn't matter what he did in it as far as he was concerned' (D, 9-1 0)

Rebecca at Chinedale offered a different angle on direct action, that of employing the physical presence of her husband.

Rebecca: 'It tends to be my husband because he's quite big. And people look at him and think "Well, I'm not going to argue"' (C, 5)

Eviction

Another common approach was to evict guests who abused the facilities, as Shirley at Jaydon illustrated.

Shirley: 'The boundaries are if they start breaking things. We're not having that, we refuse to have that. I know it's a hotel, it's a business. But there's no need to be abusive. We're not being abused or having our things abused...everything's lovely and clean and if they can't appreciate that then they've got to go' (J1, 8).

Smoking in a non-smoking hotel was another situation where guests might be evicted, as Heather and Pam explained.

Heather at Zealands: 'A couple of blokes who were obviously smoking...leaving one of my cups full of fag ends...which was naughty...they took the smoke alarm off, put it on top of the wardrobe...Really nice chaps when they left in the morning...you just don't know, you just don't know. But they'd obviously just sat there and just smoked like they'd do at home...If we'd have found them smoking we'd have pulled them out. Just told them to go' (Z, 13)

And Pam at Solent House about the no smoking rule: 'If they abuse it we kick them out, straightaway' (S, 4)

PROACTION

When hoteliers felt that the most appropriate response to hotel abuse was to take steps to prevent it, two principal routes seemed to be adopted; excluding some guests in future, or requiring prepayment from all guests.

Exclusion

Rebecca at Chinedale and Hazel at Everdene had both stopped taking stag and hen parties after damage to hotel facilities, and in particular, wet beds.

Rebecca: 'There's new furniture in the majority of the rooms... if someone comes in and messes it up in some way or damages things, then we do get upset by that...we will not take stag parties, we will not take hen parties...With bedwetting and things...We don't give people a second chance. We did once and that was the only time because he did it again. We just daren't anymore...And all the tricks they'll pull to disguise that...I mean one was a mattress completely turned over so it looked fine...we actually had people coming into that particular room. And it was only given away by a rucked up valence...And it was just unbelievable to think that

an hour later someone would have come and lain on that bed...and so it's things like that' (C, 4).

And Hazel at Everdene commented: *'We don't take groups...after the first couple of years, we'd had enough. Mattresses being wet, things spoilt. So we cut out stags and hens' (EE, 4).*

In a similar vein, Rich at Kamarillo said he would not take people who could create 'dirty' work.

Rich: *'I think it's not worth having someone in for one night that's going to shit all up the wall, which we've had in the past' (K2, 4).*

Pre-payment

Another strategy hoteliers used to avoid hotel abuse was to take pre-payment. Ruby at Ankara and Rebecca at Chinedale conveyed the emotions they had experienced that had led to such decisions.

Ruby: *'People come to Bournemouth to have a good time. It mainly involves drink...I've had people crash down my stairs and take shelves out...things like that. Just because they've had too much to drink...which obviously is a big factor...now I always take deposits and if I've got a group coming in, I always take a bond...years ago it wasn't like that. It was like "Oh my God, when are they leaving? Have I still got a place standing?" (AA, 4)*

Rebecca: *'We've had people book...and they've got a contract for two or three nights...And after one night that's all they've wanted...And they come down the next morning and say "We're going" and you can't get them to pay that extra night...so that...everybody pays up front...and they come some sob story that their card's been chewed up ...we say "I'm sorry we can't"...I feel dreadful doing that because it might be a genuine story but the few people that have pulled a fast one have meant that they've spoilt it for everyone else and we don't give people a chance now' (C, 11)*

Rebecca exemplified: *'We had a family stay...perfectly nice family...and they bounced their cheque. We got it in the end, we just kept putting it back until it hit when obviously their wages hit...and we got it...But it's all the extra hassle. You don't want to have to deal with. And they were the people you'd least expect...we'd sat in the bar half the night with them having a nice chat and things. And when that happens they are taking advantage and in a way it spoils it for other people because you treat everybody the same. Everybody's tarnished with the same brush. It's not a nice thing to have to do, but...I still don't think we're hard enough here. We're not hard faced enough. We're very trusting of people, we try to see the best in everybody. And sometimes people turn round and...' (C, 11)*

EMOTION MANAGEMENT OF BREACHES OF SOCIAL BOUNDARIES: INAPPROPRIATE GUEST BEHAVIOUR

'Inappropriate' guest behaviour that hoteliers could face included; transgressing hosts' 'private' space, flouting hotel rules, disturbing other guests, drunkenness, rudeness, thoughtlessness, 'unsettling' behaviour, 'embarrassing' behaviour, making unreasonable demands, and 'abusing' the hospitality provided.

In response to these situations, hoteliers all seemed to 'react' in some way, but differed in terms of whether their response was confined to dealing with the behaviour itself and /or choosing to take steps to prevent such behaviour in future.

REACTION AND ACTION

In reacting to inappropriate behaviour some hoteliers appeared to express their feelings whilst others tried to 'suppress' their emotions.

Expressing Emotion

Faced with inappropriate guest behaviour some hoteliers' emotions could be acute, as illustrated in this account that cites 'fury', feeling 'livid' and being 'absolutely fuming'. However, the fragility of these situations is also revealed in how the emotions turned to amusement when the identity of the perpetrators was revealed.

Shirley at Jaydon: *'The Moorfield Hotel had loads of Spanish children and they were playing football at half past two in the morning. It was a nightmare because a lot of us sleep in the basement so any noise is really loud. 'Boom Boom Boom' of a football being kicked. So Phil leapt out of bed, he was absolutely fuming by now and I was livid'. Phil: 'I was furious. I come up here and phoned the number to get the police', Shirley: '...by now he's so cross' Phil: 'So Shirley's gone out there and said "Haven't you got a home to go to?" They both turned round and they were our guests!. The police turned up and I said "Oh I think they've cleared off now mate!"'* (J2, 5)

Anger mixed with indignation seemed to feature in this incident where Mark at Dalebourne suspected a guest of 'planting' glass in his food to try to get some money back.

Mark: *'...this sort of thing...began to put me off...one of the diners...said "I've noticed, I don't want to cause a fuss...but I've just found this bit of glass in my food"...anyway, the chef looked at this and it wasn't a piece of glass from the glass we were using...we said we'd called the environmental health people...so that we'd like a statement...And we never heard another thing...I'm convinced he brought that piece of glass in...to get money off or something. He never came back again...that really really, my attitude is, "I'm sorry you're a stupid stupid man and I don't want to deal with people like you any more"'* (D, 9)

However, Chas at Chesildene explained the importance of humour to cope with guest misbehaviour, explaining here how he dealt with guests who over-stepped the boundaries of making 'their own household enjoyment'.

Chas: *'...we do have to get up from time to time and...it's a pain actually. Its one of the worst aspects of the job having to tell guests...this place is a guest house... it's all about allowing people their own household enjoyment. And if you can't tolerate that then you shouldn't really be in the business...what you've got to try and do is see where there's humour in it...And the more you feel positive about the fact that people are enjoying themselves the easier it is'* (CC, 5)

Showing assertiveness seemed to be another way hoteliers dealt with inappropriate behaviour, as Shirley at Jaydon explained.

Shirley: *'We had a group of lads...and they were jumping on the bed...Phil went up and told them to stop it and they stopped. And there were absolute darlings from that minute on...I let Phil deal with the "what to do's and what not to do's"...he's quite a big man and...he will tell them in no uncertain terms. So they know, sort of thing. And if they don't take notice we say, sorry they're out'* (J1, 6; J1, 13)

Sean at Ainsley also seemed to take an assertive line but was also prepared to show his annoyance, for example by 'shouting' at guests who 'cross that boundary' (of private-public space).

Sean: *'I have actually come out and shouted at guests. If they cross over that boundary (referring to their own private space) I will get very cross. It's my own personal space and my home...They're guests in your home. And I object...I have asked people to leave and they have. And I have refused to serve meals to people who've complained...But it is easier then, because it's become annoying and it's not a good atmosphere, it's not good for the other guests'* (A, 6)

However, not all hoteliers found it easy to be assertive. Rebecca at Chinedale suggested that dealing with 'trouble' is 'difficult'.

Rebecca: *'Dealing with people if there's trouble none of us like...that isn't the nice part to deal with, that confrontation. I don't think anyone likes that...it leaves a bad taste sort of thing'* (C, 7)

Expressions of indignation were also evident, sometimes mixed with annoyance. In the case of Phil and Shirley, and Donna, their reactions seemed to be shaped by cultural difference. Phil recalled the behaviour of some overseas guests to whom he had offered considerable hospitality, but whom he thought had not treated him and Shirley fairly in return.

Phil: *'We had some people staying...they were learning English...we'd teach them some conversation...And we took them out, we took them to different places to show them around...then one of the girls who'd been cleaning for us left and so I said to this girl "Would you like to do that?"...one day...I could hear the vacuum cleaner...there she is, in our time, cleaning her room...I thought "Oh no, that's not right"...It's silly little things, silly little things...And then we took them to a barbecue...a bottle of cheap wine...is about £3.50...And they didn't even take that between them. Which is not the way to treat you'* (J2, 11)

However, the most indignant as well as angry response, came from Donna at Violet Court about a situation that unfolded when she agreed to keep 'a little food' in the fridge for an Orthodox Jewish couple who were staying for the weekend.

Donna: *'There was a refrigerated lorry outside the door...and this chap handed me this A4 sheet that fell open in this long list...I said "What's all this?"... "I dunno love. I've just been told to come and deliver to you"... "I don't understand what you're delivering me". And he said "Well that's what it is! On that list!" And he starts getting these palettes out of the back of the lorry!...And in comes ten palettes full up with pre-plated meals, pre-cooked, pre-plated frozen meals!! Along with cutlery and everything! And they just kept coming, and they were piled up in the conservatory, and some of the plates were about twenty four inches wide. They were huge! And I just looked at it and signed on this dotted line and I just picked*

up the phone... "This is Donna from Violet Court. What on earth do you think you're playing at?!"... "Yes, you said you could keep some of our food in your fridge". And I just went "This is four days worth of food for three people...Who's the third??? And where am I supposed to keep this?"...I have to say I wasn't very happy at all, I had totally lost it! And I said to him "Who's the third person then? Is it your daughter?" He said "Yes, I thought she'd be all right to come and eat here"...the plates were so big they wouldn't fit in a normal microwave. So I had him in my kitchen micro waving Thursday night's meal one by one. And that went on every single day...That was over the top...I mean that was a little bit of a piss-take actually, I felt' (V, 21)

'Suppressed' Emotion

In contrast to previous accounts, other hoteliers suggested that whilst inappropriate guest behaviour could elicit a range of emotions, they tried not to show these. However, even Mike at Pebble Beach who advocated the use of humour, found some guests stretched even his patience. He refers here to two long term elderly guests whom he had 'inherited'.

Mike: 'I don't like it if people are rude but I can usually deal with most things with a smile on my face. I can be very sarcastic...but I am still professional. But...won't be as gushing as I would otherwise have been' (P2, 2).

And referring to the elderly guests: 'If I wasn't so laid back I'd imagine they'd cause me more distress than they do...they swear and mumble and grumble at each other and they're quite rude...you can hear them effing and blinding at each other and moaning and you go up and you knock the door and they say "You bastard he's here now" and then open the door and be perfectly polite. But I can hear what they're saying. Oh they're quite odd. And I'm starting to lose my patience...I do feel I'm running a rest home sometimes rather than a hotel, but...we need the cash, so be it' (P1, 10-11)

Ruby at Ankara explained how she tried to hide her worries about how guests might behave.

Ruby: 'I must admit you just get a feeling as soon as they've arrived. If they just keep going in and out and you think "What are they up to?"...they're walking downstairs with a can in their hand, and you think "Oh dear, it's going to be one of those nights". So it does make you worry' (AA, 13)

Heather at Zealands revealed similar sentiments, suggesting some anxiety about the behaviour of guests who had had too much to drink.

Heather: 'On one occasion we had five blokes...that was a bit hairy really...they did have too much to drink and caused a bit of a stir on the stairs. Ken didn't hear a flipping thing! They apologised in the morning and it didn't happen again. But I can't settle...' (Z2, 12)

Another example where guest behaviour caused an hotelier to worry was Terry's experience of young girl guests.

Terry at Woodley: '...they were so young they did things like they were chucking clothes up and down the stairs, so I had to go "Right girls! That's enough!...look, this is not a zoo. This is a hotel"...And I felt like I was this old Grandfather!...at the

end of five nights I wanted to sell the hotel. I'd really had enough...I was tired I was tired ...the constant worry of what you were going to be faced with' (W, 6)

Terry also implied a different array of emotions, of hurt pride, humiliation and anger, in this encounter with a lesbian guest, in a party of gay and straight women.

Terry: 'Gave my usual speech "Have a blast but when you get in bring it down". Well at half past five in the morning the noise was terrific...two or three of them tearing about the floor, waking everybody up. Went up stairs "Bang, bang, bang bang" on the door, noise came down, nothing...Next day...she spoke to me when I remonstrated in such a way that any man would have been "Out!" Any man. So I'd a problem...she mouthed off at me... "Who do you think you are, the police? I've paid good money to come here and I'm going to shut the door on you". Now any guy would have been out...it was a very emasculating experience...it is much harder as a single man to handle a women...I cannot lay a hand on a woman. Not possible...I lost. I lost face, I lost pride, I lost, I lost. I had a sleepless angry angry angry night...I knew I was in the right, I knew I was correct but I knew that she had won. This cost me a lot of sleep' (W, 8-9)

The following experiences suggested that hoteliers sometimes suppressed their annoyance at guest behaviour. In Mark's case this was in the face of demands that could test the most tolerant of hosts.

Jon at Ainsley: 'I've seen it all...We have a back door to our kitchen and it says "Private" on it...we had an arrival due but I had to go out urgently...when I came back the guest was sitting in the back garden. So I said "What happened?? How did you get in?" So he said "Oh well, I tried the front door and got no answer so I went through the side door and through the kitchen". Asked if Jon conveyed his disapproval to the guest he replied; 'I don't think we did. Because it only sets up this sort of atmosphere...But I think Sean would have done' to which Sean added: 'Yeah, I was pretty furious actually' (A, 6)

Mark at Dalebourne: 'One couple...arrived on Christmas Eve ...we'd been told in advance that she was vegetarian but ate fish, but when they arrived...late on Christmas Eve, she announced that she only ate freshwater fish. But we did manage to get freshwater fish, and on about the third night...the Head Waiter was asking "Well, we've got this and this and this". And she said "Oh no, I see you've got chicken on the menu tonight, that'll be fine". And you do feel like, you have to take a deep breath...that sort of thing where you felt, you know, we tended to be pretty cooperative about most things but...you felt...it wasn't right to expect...to be able, late on Christmas Eve, to provide you with this rather special diet, and then, then for you to announce in the middle of it all that actually you'd fit in' (D, 8)

Hoteliers could also feel irritated with parents who did not control their children. Judy at Eastleigh and Natalie at Royden Court explained how they approached such issues.

Judy, describing this as one of the worst aspects of running a hotel: 'At 7 o'clock in the morning, children being allowed to run up and down the stairs while the parents lay in bed...with no thought whatsoever for the other people who are trying to sleep...it's the thoughtlessness of parents that's the main problem' (E, 9)

And Natalie at Royden Court: *'We've had kids who've tried to come into the kitchen when we we're really busy and we've said "Ever so sorry but we have to ask your children not to come into the kitchen because it's dangerous"'* (R2, 6)

A different example was the indignation felt by Hazel at Everdene towards what she considered 'socially unacceptable' behaviour.

Hazel, about lesbian guests: *'We had two girls and they were a bit touchy and I thought "I'm not having that" because it was embarrassing for me, never mind the families sat in there. So I wouldn't hesitate to tell them, not to do it, you know'* (EE, 5)

Hazel, about guests who swore: *'We did have a couple...used to sit in the lounge and swear...it was awful. They used to eff and blind to each other. It was horrible...with people like that there's no point in trying to be diplomatic, you've just got to tell them'* (EE, 8)

A final example was where Chas at Chesildene had to 'smooth' an incident where the behaviour of his guests impacted on a neighbour and where the situation threatened to escalate into police involvement. Chas 'saved' the situation by getting the guests to apologise. He conveyed his evident amusement at this sorry tale as he told this story within the context of explaining how he dealt with inappropriate behaviour.

Chas: *'We had one funny incident, really really funny incident...we had a stag party and they went out clubbing...we gave them three sets of keys, one for each room...then the stag disappeared!...And he had one of the keys. So they came back...rang the doorbell...at three o'clock in the morning. And I was completely asleep so I didn't wake up...so they tried to break into the house next door...However, eventually they came back here and rang and eventually I get up, I go and answer the door, completely naked. So they came in and go to bed. I wasn't thinking, I was half asleep...in the morning the woman next door comes in and says "What do you think you're doing in the middle of the night?" And I told them...Look you've done a bad thing. The woman next door is going to report you to the police. Call her up now and apologise and that will save it!" And it turns out the stag had been caught up in a brawl and spent the night in the cell. Can you imagine? Ending up in a police cell!! Classic, absolutely classic...But as far as we're concerned it didn't cause any particular stress to us'* (CC, 4)

Eviction

Several hoteliers suggested that their response to inappropriate guest behaviour was to ask the guests to leave. The reasons were wide-ranging, from Ruby's concern about guests being drunk when she has a young family living in the hotel, to Mike not tolerating people who are *'rude and obnoxious'*. Shirley at Jaydon cited the example of finding evidence of drug taking and guests who had brought people into their rooms. And for Marion at Newmount, the line was upsetting her staff.

Ruby, about not tolerating inappropriate behaviour: *'I'm quite passionate about that because I've got a young daughter and I've got two young sons. It is important that if they come into my house that they behave themselves. If I've got a drunk upstairs and he's booked in for the night...I won't take him...I'll never be rude...but I have to safeguard that the place is being run to a certain standard'* (AA, 4)

Mike: *'If they were rude and obnoxious...that would probably make me unhappy. I would firstly be polite and I'd ask them to stop but if they carried on doing it I wouldn't hesitate to say, I'm sorry you're not welcome. So please leave'* (P1, 6)

Shirley: *'I let a young couple come in. They stayed one night and then...they never came back...I opened up the bags and there were syringes. And what annoyed me...we have a young girl ...to clean, if she'd had pricked herself I would never ever have forgiven myself...I was so cross'* (J1, 4)

Shirley again: *'Twice we had to ask some to leave...there was a girl in the room...they were shouting and hollering outside at half past six in the morning and then they all went upstairs and all tried to sleep in one room...we thought "We're not having that". It just made us cross, it was disrespectful. So we just went up and asked them to leave'* (J2, 7)

Marion: *'The line is when they upset my staff. Don't upset my staff, because to be perfectly honest you'd be right out the door. I'd just ask them to leave I will not have people, I won't have them talking to my staff in a disrespectful manner because my staff are all very respectful. They've been trained that way. They'd never be rude to a guest. I had an occasion...one guest who, I just happened to come in the front door, and he'd had a few drinks and he was cursing and swearing at the receptionist. And he'd actually reduced her to tears and she was...crying, really distressed...I won't have people talk to my staff like that, when they are rude to people who are just doing their job'* (N, 7)

FUTURE MEASURES

Future measures that hoteliers employed to prevent inappropriate guest behaviour included changing the way they conducted their business and implementing exclusion policies.

Changing Business Operations

Sean at Ainsley for example explained why they changed the reception area, and Derek at Quivern gave the background to introducing a 'curfew'

Sean: *'Guests used to literally come and open the door, even though it said "Strictly Private". And come in. And because we had very little personal space our wardrobe was in our private area there. And one day I was standing there in my pants, choosing what I was going to wear and a guest walked straight in! So we suddenly changed it, we made ourselves a reception area, so that's where they go, there's a bell, and it's all written down "Please ring the bell!"'* (A, 5)

Derek: *'People coming back at 3 or 4 in the morning...ringing the bell because they haven't got keys and smoking in the rooms, screaming and shouting and disturbing the neighbours'. He commented drily 'We liked all that, that was nice!' but added more seriously 'No in fairness, in most instances there wasn't a problem...other than noise. Noise was always a problem'* (Q, 4)

Exclusion

A firmer and more common response to prevent inappropriate behaviour was for hoteliers to implement an 'exclusion' policy, as illustrated by these examples.

Rebecca at Chinedale: *'We try and avoid single sex groups...We just don't do that anymore because we were caught out a few times...it turns out it's a stag party ...and you're up all night...other guests who expect a good night's sleep don't get it...it's so important to us that it's quiet at night, everybody has a good night's sleep. Nobody comes down in the morning and says "Oh I was disturbed and have had a problem"...so, if it means we're half empty some weeks, so be it. We would rather that the half that were in all went to bed and had a goodnight's sleep and we could go to sleep and not be worrying about who was coming in late, what they were doing, what noise they were making'* (C, 3)

Mike at Pebble Beach: *'...a group of lads in the summer...just drank too much and I told them I didn't want them back. Ever. I said it with a smile on my face. But they still didn't get it and one rang up three weeks later asking if we had a room and I said "I explained to you that you're not coming back here ever". And he still didn't get it. "But have you got any rooms?" I said "Yes, we have plenty of rooms and they are £2000 a night" So he got the message'* (P2, 4-5)

Other examples of 'exclusions' appeared to be specific to particular hoteliers' experiences. For example Hazel at Everdene had an issue with children under eight in the dining room and conference delegates making unreasonable requests, whilst Bert at Haydon Lodge was concerned about whether contractors 'fitted' his hotel image.

Hazel: *'We've had one or two incidents in the dining room where they'll let their kid out of the high chair and put it down to crawl round while we're serving. And it's just not acceptable...And then perhaps a toddler will start screaming. Now a normal parent will go upstairs with it, but they just sit there. So we try not to take children under eight for dinner...its not fair on everybody else. Because if it happens one night then the next night everybody's tense, waiting for it to happen again...They don't control them anymore. They're awful...I don't want somebody's kid fiddling with my salt and pepper when I'm eating a meal, do you? People don't seem to care. They don't seem to discipline themselves'* (EE, 9)

And Hazel again: *'...we had the Tory party. One of the delegates wanted a cigarette lighter – at six o'clock in the morning! They're definitely not coming here next year'* (EE, 10)

Bert about taking contractors: *'...we're really careful because in the winter you need trade but not at the expense of, you know... they smoke like mad even though it's non-smoking. They seem to take the opportunity to go out at night because they're "off the leash"...We had one lot all went down to a night club in Bournemouth on a night they called "grab a granny" Honestly! And one of them came back at one o'clock. At three o'clock somebody rang the bell...didn't have his key...We decided we'd rather not have the money, you know. So...without being snobbish or anything we try to judge'* (H, 4-5)

Natalie at Royden Court was also unequivocal about not taking a guest who was 'so rude to me' it made Natalie feel 'Angry at the time actually. I was a bit upset and to be honest I didn't want her to stay because she had upset me' (R2, 9)

MANAGING EMOTION IN VULNERABLE AND THEATENING SITUATIONS

To close this chapter I will reveal how hoteliers dealt with situations that could make them feel 'vulnerable' or 'threatened'. These included guests using 'threatening' behaviour, guests behaving bizarrely, hosts being alone and concerned for their own safety, night-time callers, and guests showing the potential for violence. In all cases, hoteliers seemed to use one or both of two main strategies to cope with the emotions they experienced. These were; taking steps to deal with the threat, and taking steps to prevent such situations from happening in future.

TACKLING THE 'THREAT'

One challenge hoteliers faced was assessing and handling potential threats at the door. Rebecca and Sheila explained their feelings toward this.

Rebecca at Chinedale declared: *'I've never been fearful'* but recognised that *'I suppose there might come a point at some point if someone gets a bit silly'* (C, 7).

Sheila at Beechlands was similarly unafraid: *'No, I'm quite OK. If they come to the door...if it's anyone I don't like the look of or feel of, I just say "No sorry I haven't got any vacancies", and not take them in'* (B, 4)

However, Shirley at Jaydon gave an example of what can (almost) happen as the 'threat' of danger hangs in the balance.

Shirley: *'One night...I said "Don't open the door" and he did. And he spoke to this man and...then he went to shut the door and the man said "Don't shut the door on me" and as he said it his voice changed. And so I said "Look we really haven't got any rooms"...And with that he turned and walked away and so we shut the door'. Phil added: 'When he said "Don't shut the door on me"...the next thing I was going to do was shut the door on him. But I don't know what the consequences would have been' (J2, 10).*

Donna gave a similar account about dealing with a drunken guest from a neighbouring hotel who called at Violet Court in the night. After this incident Donna realised the vulnerable situation in which she had placed herself.

Donna: *'There was one incident...I've never had an issue going to the front door or anything in the middle of the night...But there was a drunk at the door ...And I'd gone to the door and he was huge. I dealt with the situation, it wasn't an issue, I dealt with it. But as I got back into bed I actually ran over "What if, what if..." And I was in quite a state, I actually got in a state...he was so tall and he was drunk. I don't have any problem dealing with the scenario but when I got back into bed I really did think "Oh my God, I put myself in a very difficult position"' (V, 24)*

However, another experience Donna encountered exemplified the fragile nature of potentially 'threatening' situations.

Donna: *'I had a couple of guys...Paul's daughter was on the top floor...in the middle of the night...she says "Donna, I can't get into the bathroom". I went upstairs, and one of the guys was flat out naked on the floor in the bathroom, snoring his head off, leaning against the door...I kept shoving and pushing and shoving and pushing and eventually I got him to wake up. He was obviously in a*

drunken stupor...Eventually this naked guy woke up, you know, drunk. I could actually get him into the bedroom. And I just dropped him onto the bed and left him...But I had to go in, in my dressing gown and lift him up and get him into the room. I just couldn't believe I was dealing with it' (V, 23-24).

However, Donna elucidated as to how she generally felt about dealing with such situations.

Donna: 'I'm in my home. I don't actually have any fear in my own home. Whoever is in here I am in control and I would always have some way of sorting that out...I think it would be very unlikely that I would get, for example, trapped in a room. I'm very much in control...this is my home...you're welcome here, but there is a barrier' (V, 25)

In contrast to Donna's confidence about such situations, Terry at Woodley seemed to expect to encounter violence at some time.

Terry: 'I have just managed to keep it at the door. I've just managed to keep it that far in terms of the very worst of it...Strangely enough I have not yet had any violence...And for that I'm incredibly grateful...I still expect it. If you expect the worst you are likely not to be disappointed' (W, 5)

Celia at Brightsea also seemed resigned to the possibility of violence and described her own 'like for like' approach to deal with such aggression.

Celia: '...we have a gate here as you know (in the basement) and it's got a chain on it...So my family are sort of down here and obviously I never let my kids up the stairs...But at times it was very very difficult. At times I was so close to being beaten, the hand was there (demonstrates), right at the face, you know. And if you ask my kids...what I was like when I came here and they'd say "Oh mother, oh permed hair and Laura Ashley dresses. Wouldn't say boo to a goose. Swear? She'd put soap in your mouth, wash your mouth out with soap!" Now, "Get the fuck out of my hotel. Yeah? Wanna hit me? Then I'll fucking well hit you back, You know? And I'll get the police here and whatever you want. But get the fuck out of here". And so I learnt to become very hard. I'd come downstairs shaking, you know, and think "Oh my God. What have I said? What have I done?"' (BB, 8)

Terry's anticipation of danger and his concern for his own safety were mirrored in this description of how he answers the door.

Terry at Woodley: '...we've all had problems. In terms of putting on the act, when that doorbell rings, my shoulders stiffen...When I walk to that door, you know, it's the John Wayne walk, because I'm in charge' (W, 4)

Such is Terry's expectation of trouble that he goes to considerable lengths to ensure his own safety.

Terry: 'I have a keen sense of my own security...I've had hammering on this door at half past four in the morning and I put on a protector...I put on steel capped shoes...I put the phone in my pocket...I have my keys and my panic alarm. And I get ready. I physically blow and breathe...because it's half past four in the morning, they're awake and I am not...I get myself ready. And I've been prepared twice for that this year when I've got up at half past four in the morning' (W, 5)

However, such fears of violence were not unfounded, as Terry also reported in this incident when some conference delegates came very close to being violent toward him.

Terry at Woodley: 'In terms of trouble, the very worst I ever had was...the Labour Party Conference...delegate reservations had booked in an entire contingent from Liverpool...That's the nearest I came to violence...their behaviour was dreadful. Mixed gender...I mean the granny of sixty-five was more frightening than the bloke...she was the one I was more frightened of. It wasn't the bloke...It was all about the cooked breakfasts...they staged a protest in the dining room...two nights later, two nights later, I saw them in the street..."Everything OK?" And it nearly kicked off and I thought I was going to have to hit the guy because I felt he was going to come back at me with a left hook...it was just awful, awful...It was just dreadful behaviour, dreadful' (W, 10-11)

Mike at Pebble Beach had a similar encounter.

Mike: 'There was one guy who was a pain because (a) he was too drunk and (b) he was just rude and obnoxious...everyone thought he was a bit of a prat. He was close to being violent but was removed from the premises by his friends...I was as happy to throw him out physically as I was to be polite to him to avoid the need to do so. So I was polite...He was just obnoxious...they made sure he stayed away from me as much as possible' (P1, 10-11).

However, Rich at Kamarillo was faced with actual violence and homophobic abuse, that necessitated calling in not only a neighbour but also the police.

Rich: 'The previous owner already had some bookings and she had a booking for a stag party. They turned up drunk. Smashed some of the rooms, kicked the door in...and caused a lot of trouble. Really abusive to me' As his partner Pete was away, Rich called on the help of a male neighbour who was '...very good, a big strapping bloke, stood at the bottom of the stairs and said "Now come on lads, get out". They started on him...so we had to get the police...it was frightening, yeah it really was. It was quite intimidating. I worked in Strangeways. I worked with lifers, do you know what I mean? I think they're pussy cats compared to some of 'em, they really are' (K1, 4; K1, 6).

Shirley and Phil at Jaydon also encountered violence, but between guests, when a male guest hit his girlfriend outside their hotel. Again the police were called and the male guest was detained by the police overnight but returned his key to the hotel the next day. Shirley described how she felt.

Shirley: '...I wasn't frightened because I thought I was going to be frightened of this man...But I wasn't. I was cross...I said to him "Is the lady OK?"...he said "Yes". I said "Good". And I just took his key and give him his coat and I slammed the door in his face' (J2, 4).

Shirley summed up hers and Phil's approach to dealing with such incidents, that: 'We try to, you can be aggressive but then if you're aggressive somebody can be aggressive back And we don't want that (J1, 6)

Ruby at Ankara did not encounter any violence, but did have a rude guest whose behaviour also warranted calling the police.

Ruby: *'I've had one guy...a foreign gentleman...he booked in, him and his friend, they were very very nice...and in the evening they went out and brought people back with them. Well, the people that I had next to them were a family and they weren't very sympathetic in the morning. So I just made my point and asked them that, unfortunately I wouldn't be able to accommodate them any longer. And he was really really rude. That's the only time I've ever had to call the police...he felt that I'd inconvenienced him and that I should give him all his money back, even for the night that he'd stayed...the police very kindly did attend and they did sort it out'* (AA, 4)

Another situation that Terry at Woodley had to deal with was a guest behaving 'bizzarely', which made Terry uneasy. The guest turned out to be a drug dealer.

Terry: *'The other bit of trouble I had...I had this stench of marijuana...again, on with the protectors...Up to the room..." Mr. S, this is a non-smoking hotel. You are doing drugs. You must leave in ten minutes"...and he said "I'll be out in five"...turned up, black man, very polite, absolutely fine...Then he started behaving very bizzarely. Came down the stairs, and went out...came back in again... went up...He wore out the carpet. And you know something is wrong...I knew something was wrong but I didn't know what it was...I though the guy's got a mental problem...And my stomach began to growl because you've got someone in your house because you live here someone is behaving bizzarely...And of course...he was selling drugs'* (W, 9)

Natalie and Max at Royden Court had a similar experience, though as their account unfolded it was clear that their situation could have had potentially dangerous consequences. They explained that a '*smartly dressed*' man stayed and gave a false story about visiting a sick relative. When he didn't return for his bag, two other men called to collect it, but who turned out to be from a rival drug dealing gang. They had beaten up the (drug-dealer) guest to know the whereabouts of his money, which was stashed in the bag that Natalie and Max were holding. The next thing Natalie and Max knew was a police raid in which they were interviewed. Natalie reflected on the seriousness of the incident, saying:

'...it made us feel quite nervous afterwards...we could have said "No, you can't have the bag" but then we may have been in the risk of them pulling a gun, you never know. You hear these stories. They could put a gun to us and say "You give us the bag". Because Max said when the bag was open there was so many wads of money in there' (R2, 12)

For Heather at Zealands, the challenges she faced were being presented with people who she assessed as a bit 'odd'. She described three encounters that tugged at her emotions; Rose, the man with the backpack, and a drunk.

Heather and 'Rose': *'We had this lady, Rose...loads of carrier bags, loads of carrier bags, and made up to the eyeballs...very very strange...Came down, cash..."Can I have a receipt now?"...ever so strange...I don't think she had a home, I really don't think she had a home, but she was obviously very well educated and she just wasn't a bother...what I was worried about was what the other guests would think...she looked so so strange...And she wasn't giving anything away...and that night...a gentleman came in and I don't think Rose expected to meet anyone...she suddenly went like that (demonstrates hands up in horror and imitating someone retching)...I thought she was going to be sick all*

over him!...you know, you heart stops...I really just think she was shocked at meeting somebody, didn't know what to do, what to say. It was ever so strange...So on the Saturday she had gone...the door bell rings and I could see her coat...And I thought "Oh no, I've got 'Vacancies' round". So I said to her that it's a great big family room and I can't let it to one person...And I felt really mean. But what can you do? I was embarrassed...she certainly didn't have a home, She certainly did not have a base...She was a strange one' (Z, 24-25)

Heather and the 'backpacker': 'You do get strange ones knocking on the door...we had a gentleman..."Have you got a room?" He looked a bit ominous, you know, with his backpack and I thought "Oh, here we go". So I said, "Yeah...it's a double room, so I'd have to charge quite a lot for it"..."Oh that's fine". Oh Jesus! ...Very quiet gentleman, no eye contact at all, very quiet, very shy...in a shared house...and he said "I've just got to get away and get some sleep"...depressed, I would have said quite depressed'. She went on to explain that in the morning 'I was worried...I thought you know he might have taken an overdose ...he was a very strange insular man'. However she explained: 'He'd gone. He'd just upped and gone. The place was like unused...He'd even washed his cup up...but you don't know. You just don't know...we've got three boys here...It's their home. They don't want to be meeting these characters when they go to the loo in the night' (Z2, 25-26)

Heather and 'the drunk': 'There seems to be one gentleman and he's always roaming around and he knocked on the door....he was drunk, he was out of his face and he couldn't stand up and talk to me...I said "I'm sorry, I haven't got anything"...he was really distraught, he was crying...' And when on another occasion she refused him again he said "Oh all right, fair enough" And was really pleasant! And...you think "Oh bloody hell" But...he's one that's a little bit of a worry...after a few drinks some people that are all right, you don't know which way they're going to go, do you? They could just go to sleep, on the other hand they could get lairy, you just don't know' (Z2, 29)

Reflecting on these encounters, Heather questioned her own approach to dealing with such situations.

Heather: '...that does concern me a little bit. Because I'm soft. If I could just say "No" and slam the door I wouldn't be concerned at all, but a little of me thinks, "Oh God, these people are down on their luck", you know?' (Z2, 29)

Together, Shirley, Donna and Heather summarised the dilemmas facing hoteliers in dealing with the array of potentially threatening or vulnerable situations described here.

Donna at Violet Court: 'You've got no idea who they are and a lot of it is all done on trust' (V, 4)

Shirley at Jaydon: 'Well really, you don't know who's there do you?' (J1, 15)

Heather at Zealands: 'It's just a couple of times I've thought "Gosh, we don't know who these people are and we've given them the key to our house"' (Z2, 12)

PREVENTING THREATS

Unsurprisingly, hoteliers also described a raft of measures employed to prevent threatening situations from arising. Four referred to taking extra precautions after dark, though Rich at Kamarillo suggested that the problem of 'dodgy people' could just as easily arise during the day!

Sheila at Beechlands: *'I don't take anyone after eight o'clock at night'* (B, 4)

Gail, at Chesildene, about Chas answering the door late at night; *'Yeah, it's very scary. Because sometimes at three o'clock in the morning they will ring and I told him "Don't open it, don't open it" But he will still open it'* (CC, 3)

Shirley at Jaydon: *'Well the classic is they get up in the night to go to the toilet they let the door close...So that was alarming...So then...we made a set of keys and we keep them...so if anyone does do that...and we're not quite sure, we can just slide the key underneath the door...I'm not so bothered now'* (J1, 15)

Another avoidance strategy was not to pursue guest abuse, for fear of retaliation. Bert at Haydon Lodge described such a situation, where he took the advice of the police to 'do nothing'.

Bert: *'We had a lady turn up...said her son was in hospital...and she was going to see him...she had dinner, she had a bottle of wine, she had breakfast and then she did a runner...We had a car registration...Angela just rang the police...It turned out it belonged to someone who lived in East Howe or somewhere and the policeman said "Well look, how much is it that you've lost?...I wouldn't bother because if you pursue it you'll probably get a stone through you window or something"'* (H, 12)

A third, and final strategy comprised measures taken by female hoteliers who were concerned about being on their own.

Shirley at Jaydon: *'If I'm here on my own...I lock that door...so I lock downstairs so no-one can get in there...we've got the number of the local police station...they respond in seconds...obviously you have to be bit careful'* (J1, 5)

Natalie at Royden Court, about refusing to let prospective guests see the rooms, shortly after the experience of being 'duped' by the drug dealer: *'A posh BMW...and all these big hefty lads...I was just so nervous because of what had just happened...I didn't feel comfortable about letting them in when I was on my own. I would have felt different if Max was there'* (R2, 13)

And finally, Natalie expressed her concern for her mother who owned a hotel over the road: *'I suppose with me being with Max it's not so bad but I'm thinking my Mum's there on her own, it's more of a worry'* (R2, 14)

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter concludes the presentation of data from my study by exposing how hoteliers employ emotion management to negotiate the host-guest relationship. I identified four main ways in which they did this; using emotion work to cope with hospitality work, using emotion management to deal with abuse of hotel facilities, using emotion management to

tackle inappropriate guest behaviour, and managing emotion in vulnerable or threatening situations. I will summarise what I interpret to be the main findings for each of these areas.

EMOTION WORK TO DO HOSPITALITY WORK comprised two key dimensions, coping with the work itself and coping with the work/load.

Hospitality Work elicited a range of emotions such as:

- Pleasure, for example pride, and 'loving' the work
- Pain, for example 'hating' certain tasks
- Disgust nausea and stress associated with 'dirty work'
- Feeling 'daunted' or 'worried' by certain tasks
- Recognising the tedium and repetitiousness of the work

Hosts' personalities, gender, and ability or wish to employ staff, also influenced how they experienced this work.

The Workload evoked fairly universal sentiments, such as:

- That the daily and long hours meant the work was 'hard' relentless and time-bound, and could impact on personal life and well-being
- Being 'tied' was a key pitfall of the job and could impact on personal lives and social contact
- Creating and protecting private time was seen variously as essential and difficult
- Seasonality drew mixed feelings, though 'summer' work was sometimes seen as 'easier'

EMOTION MANAGEMENT TO DEAL WITH ABUSE OF HOTEL FACILITIES drew three main host responses:

No Action where hosts,

- Accepted damage and felt 'indifferent' toward it
- Accepted it, but were affected by it, such as feeling dejected, upset, angry or annoyed

Reaction and Action where hosts used three approaches,

- Indirect action, such as making guests feel uncomfortable
- Directly challenging guests
- Evicting guests
-

Proaction where two main policies were employed,

- Exclusion of 'unacceptable' guests
- Prepayment to cover fraud and damage

EMOTION MANAGEMENT TO DEAL WITH INAPPROPRIATE GUEST BEHAVIOUR evoked principally two host responses:

Reactions and Action where hosts' responses took three main forms,

- Expressing their emotions, such as fury, indignation or annoyance
- 'Suppressing' emotions such as worry and exasperation, and also using humour
- Evicting unacceptable guests such as those who are rude and obnoxious, drunk, or disrespectful

Future Measures which tended to take two main forms,

- Changing business operations, such as introducing a curfew
- Excluding guest categories who had previously caused problems such as party groups, young children, or contractors

MANAGING EMOTION IN VULNERABLE AND THEATENING SITUATIONS involved hosts generally adopting one or both of two approaches:

Tackling the 'threat' by,

- 'Keeping it at the door', assessing the risk a guest presents whilst maintaining control of the home/ hotel
- Judging the integrity of the guest, weighing up their 'smart' or 'odd' appearance with whether they can be trusted as guests in one's hotel and home
- Anticipating and dealing with the potential for violence
- Assessing the potential risk of unexpected behaviour during a guest's stay, such as guests acting 'bizarrely'

Preventing Threats by,

- Not answering the door at night
- Not pursuing fraudulent guests, for fear of reprisals
- Lone female hosts adopting extra protective measures

Chapter 9

DISCUSSION

In this chapter I will explore five meta-themes that I have identified as emerging from my data analysis. These are:

1. Host-Guest Matching
2. Host-Guest Relationship
3. Host Roles
4. Dirty Work and Risky Work
5. Work-Life Balance

These are conceptual themes that I interpret as significant points of intersection between the phenomena of 'emotion management' and 'hospitality'. These emotion-hospitality junctures are themselves illuminated by the lenses of power and identity. These themes thus bridge these two principal dimensions of the host-guest relationship, that is 'emotion management' and 'hospitality', to help us to better understand the nature of that relationship in small hotels.

The discussion relates primarily to the experiences of small hotel owners in this study. However, where experiences in large family hotels or a corporate hotel contribute to understanding the phenomena being discussed, these will be highlighted in the discussion.

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HOST- GUEST MATCHING

A key consideration for hosts of small hotels in establishing the host-guest relationship is determining who is 'the guest'. Reasons for this are fourfold and reflect hosts' emotionalities concerning this issue. They are; unease about guests as 'unknown', the work guests can create, whether guests 'match' the hotel identity, and whether hosts feel comfortable about admitting them into their 'home'. These reasons are themselves mirrored in other conceptual themes discussed later in this chapter, but are considered here in terms of their relevance to this theme of host-guest 'matching'. Such overlap within and across themes is to be expected, reflecting as it does the integrated 'picture' of managing emotionalities in the host-guest relationship that has emerged from my data.

I will examine the reasons why hosts need to consider who constitutes 'the guest' and then explore two principal approaches they adopt to 'manage' the emotionalities involved, that of 'control' and 'negotiation'.

UNEASE ABOUT THE 'UNKNOWN'

A first concern for hosts can be a feeling of unease about guests as 'unknown'. This is reflected in Ruby at Ankara's observation that *'I didn't realise, not being funny, there were so many mad people out there with so many problems'* and Shirley's admission that *'There are a lot more stranger people out there than what you think'* (Jaydon). Whilst arguably such observations might concern *any* provider of hospitality, it is particularly problematic for small hoteliers where the hotel is also their home, since this presents hosts with the dilemma of exercising a judgement as to how risky it is to welcome 'an unknown' into the home. Such reactions could be interpreted as contrary to traditional ideas of hospitality as being 'transformative', converting 'strangers into familiars, enemies into friends' (Selwyn, 2000:19). As O'Gorman (2007:18) recalls, the Ancient Greek term '*philoxenos*' means 'literally "love of strangers"'. However here, hosts' wariness toward strangers instead tends to reflect the fragile nature of the host-guest relationship (Sheringham and Daruwalla, 2007) reminding us of the close association between 'hospitality' and its 'twin sister', hostility (Selwyn, 2000: 26). As O'Gorman observes 'traditionally, the guest was the person with whom one had mutual obligations of hospitality; they were also the stranger, and a stranger could well be hostile'. O'Gorman explains that a consequence of this concern was that 'Strangers were feared because their intentions are often unknown' (O'Gorman, 2007: 18).

EMOTION WORK AND 'DIRTY WORK'

Hosts also need to judge whether prospective guests might cause them additional work, such as 'dirty work', which as Guerrier and Adib observe (2003: 1399) frequently involves 'managing holidaymakers' complaints and excesses'. Hosts' reluctance to take guests who might 'make a mess' is linked to the third issue discussed here, that the hotel is also the owner's home. Hosts can feel a sense of pride in 'showing off' the hotel as their home, and as such consider it a place that should be protected from outsiders who might violate its presentation. However there can also be a reluctance to engage in 'dirty work' *per se* with the physical and emotional effects this can elicit, such as feeling nauseous, disgusted and demeaned. Hosts may also anticipate that some guests will cause them additional emotion work, such as having to cope with the upset of hotel damage and/or inappropriate guest behaviour. Understandably hosts may want to avoid taking such guests who might place these additional demands upon them, with all the anxiety and worry that can entail. As Terry commented about a group of young girls who had behaved inappropriately '*I'd really had enough...I was tired, I was tired...the constant worry of what you were going to be faced with*'.

GUESTS OF THE HOTEL – AND HOME

A third concern for hoteliers is that the hotel *is* also their home, an association that can generate a range of emotions for them. As Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007: 42) contend 'the concept of place is important within the abstraction of hospitality helping to build further the notion of inclusion and exclusion. The host must be clearly linked with a sense of place that they define as their own and have control over. Here the place must assert a sense of the host's identity and their sense of self'. Hence hosts need to assess whether they wish to welcome 'unknown' guests into their hotel, and home. To do this, hosts draw on private, as well as commercial, hospitality (Lashley, 2000), perceiving the guest not only as a paying visitor but also as someone who the host must be able to trust in order to welcome him or her into the home setting. As Marion of Newmount commented '*This is my home ...although it is a hotel they're coming in as guests in my home*'. However, the notion of 'the home' as an emotional construct, to which hosts feel attached and through which they express their own identity, can mean that hosts are particular as to who will share that domain (Lynch, 2005b: 41). Thus trust alone may not be enough, it may also demand a sense of 'connection' or 'matching'. Further, the hotel as home will commonly be presented to the host's own standards, and can thus be seen as needing 'protection' from outsiders who might violate its presentation. Hosts' concerns here clearly overlap with their wish to avoid the 'dirty work' that guests may create.

THE MARKET WE WANT – THE MARKET WE DO

A fourth concern for hosts is whether prospective guests will 'fit' their particular hotel identity. This resonates with the influence of social domain hospitality with hosts maybe trying to convey a certain social status (such as an industry 'diamond' award), and/or attract particular social groups whilst excluding others. Hosts' feelings about whom they wish to attract can in turn be fashioned by their own values and how they wish to articulate these through the image or identity of the hotel. Mike for example had a very clear vision of Pebble Beach as a '*contemporary well-known respected funky hotel*' that would attract '*professional*' people. Similarly Bert was very proud of his four-diamond status at Haydon Lodge that he felt attracted a '*discerning guest*'. To align guests with the hotel image, Mike '*got rid of*' two long-stay elderly guests and Bert avoided taking contractors who did not fit in, since they tended to '*smoke like mad*' and go to "*Grab a granny*" nights'.

EFFECT OF CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

What also emerged from my analysis was that contextual factors surrounding the host-guest relationship could influence how hosts coped with the challenges defined here. Thus disquiet about taking in 'strangers' could be compromised if finances were tight, reflected in comments such as *'The first six months...when anyone came to the door we took them because we wanted the money'* (Donna at Violet Court). Conversely, a mix of lifestyle and business motives presented by a number of hosts in my study often meant that they were prepared to 'lose' business rather than risk taking people who might 'mess up' the hotel. As Rebecca of Chinedale remarked...*'if it means we're half-empty some weeks, so be it'*. The influence of lifestyle motives revealed here reflects the point made by Lashley and Rowson (2007:122) that people buy small hotels *'...for a cluster of lifestyle reasons'* and that *'...few have classic entrepreneurial ambitions to make a lot of money'*. An underlying issue could also be that these hoteliers want *'...some business that gives them greater control of their lives'*, which was another point made by Lashley and Rowson (2007:122) in their study of small hotels in Blackpool.

Determining whether prospective guests might create 'mess' such as 'dirty work' seemed to involve a range of value judgments, often employing arbitrary criteria to assess guests' physical appearance and attribute them to particular social groupings. On the basis of this rather crude categorisation, hosts then decided whether or not the guest would be welcomed. Such value-laden assessments were also employed to select guests to 'fit' particular hotel cultures. As Terry at Woodley put it *'I tend not to take in lads in football shirts and baseball caps...it is not the market I want. It's not the market that I do'*. Such a view implies an attempt at 'guest matching', which Tucker and Lynch (2004:22) argue means *'there needs to be a certain level of matching, or commonality, between hosts and guests'*.

MANAGING 'GUEST' EMOTIONALITIES THROUGH 'CONTROL'

One approach hosts used to manage 'who is the guest' was that of 'control'. This could involve strictly assessing guests, excluding them to prevent host-guest relationships from ever forming, or 'evicting' 'unsuitable' guests who had 'slipped through the net'.

Managing Impressions

One 'control' approach that hosts used was to manage the 'unknown' nature of 'the guest' by taking a firm line in deciding who they considered 'undesirable'. This was usually effected by judging prospective guests on their appearance, exemplified by descriptions of 'undesirable' as, for example, people who are *'off their face on alcohol and had a cigarette hanging out of their mouth'* (Natalie at Royden Court) and *'single guys on their own...with no luggage'* (Pam at Solent House). These judgements tended to be influenced by a combination of hosts' motives, values, and financial circumstances. As Pam revealed, she and Martin were *'selective right from the start'*, because *'we weren't that desperate'*, an observation that reflected their values and aligned with their mix of business and lifestyle motives. Similarly, whilst Rich graphically contended that *'if you've got a dirty little girl that comes to the door with a carrier bag and there's a car ticking over, you know...that she's a prostitute'*, he added that it is *'awful'* to be so judgemental, but it's *'your home'*. So whilst guests' appearance and demeanour could evoke emotions that led to hosts deciding to treat them as 'hostile' strangers (O'Gorman, 2007: Selwyn, 2000), part of the host may say *'I feel sorry for this person and I wish I could help him'*, implying that a *concern* for 'strangers' was also never far away. However, the way hosts in my study tended to categorise 'undesirable' guests, for example as anyone smelling of alcohol, appearing

homeless, and/or involved in prostitution, accords with Harris and Reynolds' (2004:345) interpretation of 'undesirable' as 'consumers or users of services that are viewed as unattractive, unwanted, or objectionable by customer-contact personnel'.

Rules

Judging guests by their appearance could be augmented by the use of 'rules'. Ruby at Ankara for example required some form of identity, so that she could 'screen' people she felt uneasy about. A reading of the this sort of response is that hosts like Ruby sought to maintain the social order of their hotels by using presentational emotion management (Bolton, 2005a). Prevailing social feeling rules provide the framework for Ruby to offer whatever 'performance' will ensure the ongoing security of herself, her family, and her business. It could also be argued that such 'reading' of guest suitability can be explained from a symbolic interactionist stance where hosts respond to 'signals' given off from the guest, and interpret these to inform decisions about the guest's acceptability. Signals can include the way the guest is dressed, what bags he or she is carrying, or the very absence of luggage. Arguably, entwined with hosts' interpretation of these 'social' cues is social construction of their emotions through exchange of signals in these encounters. This is exemplified in Ruby's case that she felt '*I don't think I want to take you*' suggesting a Goffmanian understanding of social interaction operating alongside social construction of emotion. Hence Ruby invoked the ID rule to support decisions to refuse 'undesirable' guests, the decisions themselves being informed by the social and emotional interaction. Ruby thus maintained 'control' over guest selection.

Hosts' responses to 'the unknown' in this way to some extent bear out criticisms that symbolic interactionism is too focused on the 'small scale' and does not attend to macro societal influences (Giddens, 1997), since hosts like Ruby appear to eschew the hospitality tradition of welcoming strangers (O'Gorman, 2007; Selwyn, 2000). Rather, they seem to be influenced more by feelings toward their immediate society, for example wishing to protect 'the home'. These sentiments tend to reflect Darke and Gurney's (2000: 80) observation that hosts may wish to 'preclude any outsiders visiting because they create extra work and destroy a hard-won sense of the home as haven'.

Exclusion and eviction

'Control' could also be used to avoid the emotion and dirty work that guests could create. For example, hoteliers such as Derek at Quivern and Bert at Haydon Lodge declared that they had *never* taken party groups for these reasons, whilst others such as Rebecca at Chinedale and Sheila at Beechlands reported that they no longer did so after experiencing hotel damage and being '*up all night*'. Yet others had accepted guests who later proved inappropriate and whom they had to evict, for example a guest at Everdene who '*stank of BO*', and an elderly lady whose evident incontinence caused Bert at Haydon Lodge to recall that '*the odour nearly knocked me over*'. Hazel's and Bert's responses suggest employment of presentational emotion management in order to restore 'stability' to the host-guest relationship by removing the 'unsuitable' guest. However, hosts' values also clearly play a part. Bert for example '*felt sorry*' for the guest, revealing a certain human connectedness, resonant of Bolton's (2008: 17) contention that human agency can bring humanity to social interactions. Implicit in Bolton's view is the notion of social connectedness reinforcing communities, in contrast to the idea of the 'post-emotional society'. However, Bert's encounter with the incontinent guest's son contributed to constructing his emotions, with Bert feeling that the son's behaviour was '*unfair*'. Hence despite 'feeling sorry' for the guest, Bert seemed to suggest the interaction lacked reciprocity, with the son not fulfilling Bert's expectations of mutual obligations in the host-

guest relationship (Lashley *et al*, 2007:176). Thus not surprisingly the guest was asked to leave.

Matching the hotel identity

A 'control' approach was also evident where hosts attempted to 'match' guests to their hotel identities. Hazel at Everdene for example would not take young children in the dining room, contending that as a guest, *'I don't want somebody's kid fiddling with my salt and pepper when I'm eating a meal, do you?'* thus seeking to maintain the child-free culture her regular guests had come to expect. Terry on the other hand changed the culture of Woodley by throwing out the TV and introducing classic FM and warm croissants, so that *'people are better behaved. People are more pleasant. People are quieter'*. These examples imply the influence of social domain hospitality, to shape the 'mix' of guests to manage the hotel culture, by excluding some social groups and encouraging others.

However, fashioning one's guest clientele could sometimes appear elusive, for example when contextual factors impacted on hosts' latitude to do this, such as needing an income in the 'early days'. Celia at Brightsea for example, had to take students and asylum seekers before she discovered and developed her stag and hen party market. She reported that through that journey *'we had druggies, we had the lot...We had prostitutes'*. Emphasising the limited options that were available to her she reflected that at the time *'I'm taking anybody and everybody. Carrier bag people, drunks, the lot. Oh God. You had to. You would take anybody that knocked the door'*. Such sentiments imply a feeling of resignation about having to take people who Harris and Reynolds (2004: 342) cite Bitner *et al* as describing as 'problem customers', "drunken behaviours...that consequently disrupt the ambience of the service establishment and subsequently infringe on the enjoyment of the customers' service encounters'. Derek at Quivern and Rich at Amarillo similarly said they took *'anybody'* in the early days whilst they developed their hotel identities. These experiences suggest a shift from hosts being 'controlled by' external power influences such as financial need, to being able to negotiate control within the host-guest relationship (Foucault, 1977; Hardy and Clegg 2006) through an agential stance. Celia for example reveals her shift in control over her guest market in phrases such as *'I very cleverly managed'* and *'I decide'*, and that *'I can choose now who I have'* and *'You know, I can afford to'* and about taking post-care clients *'talk about confidentiality and all this crap...I need to know a bit of background...then I have a choice'*. It is also likely that alongside such shifts in power between host and guest, hosts might move from pecuniary emotion management in the early days, and its likely consequences of feelings of resistance and alienation, toward presentational emotion management (Bolton, 2005a).

MANAGING 'GUEST' EMOTIONALITIES THROUGH 'NEGOTIATION'

In contrast to 'controlling' who constitutes the guest, hosts in my study also demonstrated a 'negotiated' approach, by working within looser boundaries of emotion management to decide whether or not to accept a prospective guest. This could include 'reading' and vetting the guest, judging what risk they might present, and assessing whether or not they fit the hotel culture. It could also mean going with one's 'gut feel' and maybe using 'ruses and excuses' to deter guests judged to be unsuitable.

Judging and Deciding

'Negotiating' the challenge of guests as 'unknown' seemed to involve dealing with emotions such as 'fear' and 'unease'. A practical difficulty presented itself, that hosts had possibly just a few seconds in which to decide if *'you trust that person or not'* (Mike at

Pebble Beach), leading some to have 'a fear' of answering the door. As Rebecca at Chinedale said 'I absolutely hate answering the door because I've got to make a decision and sometimes I don't make the right decision and then I think I feel dreadful if I've let someone in who then causes a problem'. These dilemmas facing hosts resonate with Sheringham and Daruwalla's (2007:42) point that 'The host must, in the negotiated case of conditional hospitality, decide that they can afford to entertain the guest and their needs and that the anticipated return will override the interruption to freedom (and order) caused by hosting the guest'. Further, accounts such as Rebecca's suggest hosts trying to adopt presentational emotion management to deal with the 'door' enquiries, but struggling with commitment to their decisions. Other hosts however, openly admitted to 'vetting' guests either by phone or at the door, a practice that seemed to improve with experience. As Judy at Eastleigh commented, she drew on the benefit of '*twenty years experience*' when assessing a guest's suitability. Terry at Woodley too explained how he would '*attune my ear to who's calling*', an approach resonant of a symbolic interactionist stance, with Terry listening for 'clues' as to the guest's suitability.

'Telling it straight', 'ruses and excuses', and 'gut instinct'

Refusing to take a guest could follow a direct path; Terry for example would '*just tell them*' that the hotel is not appropriate for their needs. However, more commonly, the message would be camouflaged behind a range of ruses and excuses, such as a 'hike' in price or hosts finding that '*rooms that might have been available...aren't*'. Yet other hosts trusted their 'gut instinct', such as Donna at Violet Court who recalled '*something just made me think "I've made a mistake here"*', and Rebecca at Chinedale who summarised '*I would always go with my gut feeling*'. This sort of response was exemplified by Natalie at Royden Court, who felt '*just an awful sick feeling in my stomach*' when some guests at the door made her '*feel a bit uneasy*'. She explained to me that as this encounter unfolded, her feelings of mistrust became more entrenched as the couple said things she knew not to be true. A symbolic interactionist reading of such an exchange suggests the host is negotiating control over the situation. In Natalie's case for example she used the ruse of offering a higher price. Host responses such as these imply that they eschew any feeling of obligation to treat such guests as 'sovereign customers' (Sturdy, 2001). Rather, they 'listen' to their own gut feelings that the prospective guests are 'undesirable' (Harris and Reynolds, 2004:345).

However, sometimes 'mistakes' occurred that could elicit a certain degree of emotion dissonance (Mann, 1999) resulting from hosts feeling 'uncomfortable' about guests but still having to behave appropriately toward them. It could be inferred that in such circumstances a symbolic interactionist 'reading' of the guest appears to have failed the host. Further, hosts' emotions are arguably constructed through such encounters, creating a sense of unease. However, a psychodynamic perspective is also helpful here. Donna for example commented that '*something just made me think...*' suggesting that her feelings of disquiet may have been spontaneous as much as socially constructed, which as Theodosius (2008: 894) and Bolton (2005a: 72) argue, can be difficult to discern. Such encounters also illustrate the fragility of the host-guest relationship, as noted by Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007).

Causing extra work

Some hosts in my study took a 'negotiated' approach to judging whether prospective guests might cause them additional emotion work or dirty work, and this seemed heavily influenced by hosts' values. Shirley, for example, was persuaded to take a disabled guest against her better judgement, but because as she put it, '*I'm a softie*'. In situations like

these, hosts seemed to try to adopt presentational emotion management to negotiate that the hotel is not suitable, but their values of concern and compassion led to a philanthropic gesture of allowing the guest to stay (Bolton, 2005a). In Shirley's case, her subsequent irritation with the guest's demanding nature may have compounded her sense of being 'cross' with herself for having agreed to take him. His extra demands probably meant additional emotion work for Shirley, having to treat him as a guest whilst feeling that he was a '*pain in the neck*'.

Protecting the home

My study also revealed how hosts used a negotiated approach, not only to protect their homes from being 'messy' but also to 'defend' the home against challenges to their own standards. Such challenges could make hosts feel affronted and indignant at implications that their standards were anything less than acceptable. These reactions reflect how hosts can feel 'pride' in their homes and wish to protect how they are presented (Darke and Gurney, 2000:80). Their feelings toward the home are in turn informed by their values, which influence the standard of presentation that they feel is important.

The way hosts of small hotels dealt with such challenges could be very different to how guest selection might be handled in a corporate setting. Owners of small hotels can enjoy considerable autonomy in negotiating the boundaries of the host-guest relationship, and if necessary refuse to embark on the relationship at all. This was exemplified by Shelia who told a prospective guest who questioned the cleanliness of her hotel that the guest could look around and have her money back if she didn't like the hotel, but added '*But if I don't like the look of you when you turn up at my front door I hope you will give me the same respect I give you*'. Responses such as these suggest a readiness to eschew the notion of customer sovereignty, echoing Bolton and Houlihan's study that 'customer sovereignty is by and large mythical'. In such circumstances both host and guest show that 'despite the powerful discourse of enterprise, neither producers nor consumers believe in the myth' and that 'Clearly, customers can be demanding and aggressive, but...this is not because of any sense of divine right to demean service workers' (Bolton and Houlihan, 2005: 685). Sheila's account also implies a symbolic interactionist stance in the way she deals with the guest. She makes it clear how both the guest, and she, can respond to signals that each gives off. She also implies that she has no qualms about negotiating power with the guest, saying '*But if I don't like the look of you...*', suggesting a Foucauldian approach to deciding if the guest will be accepted. As Hardy and Clegg (2006:762) note '*the arrival of Foucault on the power scene posed a fundamental challenge by sounding the death-knell of sovereignty*.' Hence adopting a Foucauldian approach would suggest that the host considers power to be a shared phenomenon between host and guests, interwoven within their social exchanges, rather than 'something' that is 'owned' by either.

Fitting the hotel image

Some hosts used a negotiated approach to select guests to 'fit' a particular hotel image, by adopting the converse of exclusion, that is, by positively encouraging and fostering particular guest groups that matched their hotel identities. This sort of approach implies a relational interpretation of hospitality (Selwyn, 2000), with hosts influenced by both private and social domains. It also suggests hosts engaging in a mix of prescriptive and presentational emotion management, the former to maintain the status of the hotel through fashioning the host-guest relationship, and the latter to convey the sincerity of hosts' interactions. Rich at Kamarillo exemplified such a mixed approach. He wanted to achieve a certain status by attracting '*nice professional people and holidaymakers*' but also wanted to be 'himself' in the way he interacted with them.

The 'ideal' guest

Hosts also negotiated who constituted their 'ideal' guests by articulating their own values through their hotel identities. Mike at Pebble Beach and Pam and Martin at Solent House for example fashioned their own 'style' markets to align with their values. Others negotiated the 'ideal' by nurturing 'appropriate' guests to become 'regulars', returning year after year and toward whom hosts developed a sense of attachment as reflected in Shirley's reference to *'my regulars'* (at Beechlands). This phenomenon of attachment was also evident in large hotels. Jenny at Farley Court for example talked of *'our sort of people'*. However, *'the regulars'* could also present a challenge if they evolved into *'a clique'* as happened at Dalebourne where *'sometimes it could become difficult where it seemed that everybody in the hotel had been there for years'*. Owner Mark admitted *'There's not really very much you can do. You can't ask your guests "Do talk to those please" or something like that'*. A reading of this is that Mark perceives his (commercial) hotel almost as an extension of his private social circle (Telfer, 2000), with guests at Dalebourne seen more as a 'group of friends' than as commercial guests. Such situations exemplify how hospitality in a commercial operation can sometimes display 'private' domain characteristics.

SUMMARISING HOST-GUEST MATCHING

The picture has emerged here of emotionalities surrounding 'guest matching' that are specific to small hotel owners, in contrast to their corporate counterparts. The fact that the hotel also constitutes the owner's home significantly influences hosts' need to 'trust' prospective guests as 'unknown' strangers, before welcoming them as guests into that home. Judging guest suitability draws hosts into 'battling with themselves', weighing up concern for the 'stranger' with the risk they may represent, for example in creating additional dirty work or emotion work. However, even attempts to 'control' guest selection can be influenced by hosts' values so that they feel some sympathy toward the guest. Nonetheless, a negotiated approach allows wider scope for such judgements, with hosts free to engage in philanthropic as well as presentational emotion management. The negotiated stance aligns too with Foucauldian power sharing in the host-guest relationship, so that hosts can exercise their autonomy to eschew notions of customer sovereignty when selecting guests. This autonomy can be militated when finances are limited but exploited when lifestyle motives are as important as a commercial imperative. The small hotel host thus has to confront emotional challenges to determine who is 'the guest' but enjoys considerable scope to exercise authority in doing so.

HOST-GUEST 'RELATIONSHIP'

An understanding of how hosts in small hotels relate to their guests draws on four issues that emerged from my data analysis. These are; the extent to which hosts perceived their interactions with guests to constitute a 'relationship, the degree to which those interactions were informal, the extent to which hosts sought to, or found they needed to, 'get to know' their guests, and hosts' views toward the notion of guests as 'friends'.

ASPECTS OF THE HOST-GUEST 'RELATIONSHIP'

The first issue to emerge was whether hosts perceived engagement with guests as a 'relationship' at all. I felt it was important to examine this since hosts' fundamental perceptions of how they related to guests was likely to shape the way they behave toward them. This behaviour would in turn be manifested through the 'roles' they adopted, the

way they provided hospitality, and how they interacted with guests. Thus the remaining sections of this discussion theme will explore the nature of these interactions.

The 'relationship' idea – characteristic or chimera?

Hosts' perceptions as to whether their interactions with guests constituted a 'relationship' drew vastly contrasting views. For Natalie and Max at Royden Court for instance, it seemed that the notion of a relationship was integral to host-guest interactions. They argued for example that the idea of charging for any 'extra' provisions would signal to guests that *'it's a business'* which in Max's view would *'ruin the relationship'*. So from their perspective, a 'relationship' between host and guest appeared to be a key characteristic, to be protected from commercial compromise. In direct contrast, Chas at Chesildene rejected outright any idea of 'relationship' as a *'chimera'*. He drew the distinction that his interactions amounted to *'interesting conversations'* and being *'friendly and polite'* but that *"relationship" is completely the wrong idea'*. This seemed to be in part (and perhaps mostly) a manifestation of Chas' commercial focus and his emphasis on delivering hospitality to make a profit. However, it also seemed to be a matter of personal preference, since he added that he certainly recognised that some hoteliers do promote the idea of a 'relationship' commenting *'I know exactly what you mean. And actually when I...get that, a person trying to create a relationship with you, it really turns me off'*.

These polar views of the host-guest 'relationship' suggest hosts tend to work within different hospitality domains. Natalie and Max appear to favour emulating private hospitality, characterised by providing hospitality that is a 'symbolic interaction and the making of friends out of strangers' (Selwyn, 2000: 26-27) where for example providing 'extras' free of charge constitutes such a symbol. Chas, on the other hand, seems more comfortable with being commercially focused, with little or no sense of mutual obligation or reciprocity between host and guest. This seems in part motivated by Chas' own personal preference that attempts at a host guest *'relationship'* would 'turn him off'. However it could also be argued that this is perhaps more what one might expect from a commercial operation, reflected in Lashley's (2000) description that commercial hospitality has '...little sense of mutual obligation of the domestic context. The guest rarely has a sense that roles will be reversed...the exchange of money absolves the guests of mutual obligation, and loyalty'.

Thus there seems to be some question about the notion of host-guest connections *being* a relationship at all. Here, Lashley *et al*'s (2007: 176) use of the term 'host-guest transaction' might better reflect the view taken by Chas, whilst the idea of 'acts of hospitality' as 'relational and transformative' (Selwyn, 2000: 25; Sheringham and Daruwalla, 2007:39) seem to mirror Natalie and Max's approach. Not surprisingly, whatever perspective hosts adopted was also generally mirrored in their interpretation of hospitality as transactional or relational (Lashley *et al*, 2007).

'Interactions'

It thus emerged that the notion of the host-guest connection constituting a 'relationship' was perceived differently across the spectrum of small hotel owners. However, the idea of host guest *interactions* seemed universally acknowledged. Hoteliers like Natalie and Max would call this 'having a relationship' with guests whilst Chas for example suggested that the job involved *'going into an agreement with somebody almost every day'*. Chas's observation here aligns with Sheringham and Daruwalla's (2007:33) contention that 'Hospitality is a negotiated act between host and guest, and can be described as transgressive in nature in that it infringes thresholds of physical, psychological and

symbolic character'. Here, Lashley *et al* (2007:176) echo the sentiment that there is potential for 'transgression', suggesting that 'The interactional nature of the transaction is multi-faceted: social, cultural, psychological, economic etc. and captures the idea of a "crossing over" between host and guest'. Between these extremes, others like Anne at Xanadu suggested '*you talk to the guests, that's part of the job*' suggesting a degree of functionality and instrumentality rather than a desire to necessarily 'engage' and 'relate to' the guest. Jon at Ainsley agreed, explaining that '*You're not in business just to interact with people*'. However, as will be apparent later in this theme, for other hoteliers, interacting was more than just 'part of the job' but an aspect of host-guest relations that could take prominence in the role of an hotelier, even to the extent of developing and maintaining 'friendships' with guests.

These various approaches suggest that hosts may engage in different strategies to manage the emotionalities each situation might entail. For Natalie and Max, 'relationships' with guests were likely to involve expending emotion work to display and communicate emotions that elicited desired responses from guests. Hence Natalie and Max might demonstrate an interest in the guest and a concern for his welfare, to make him or her feel comfortable and relaxed. To what extent hosts find such 'work' demanding will depend on their capacity to identify with it, which in turn is likely to be shaped by their personality motives and experience. In my conversations with Max and Natalie, it was clear for example that Natalie's work as a hairdresser and her relaxed disposition meant she was generally comfortable 'relating' to guests, whilst Max's lack of experience and shy personality meant he had to work harder at this. Natalie and Max could both be interpreted as engaging in presentational emotion management, where they are 'themselves' and give 'sincere' performances to their guests, motivated by a genuine commitment to make the guests feel welcome, reflecting Telfer's (2000) interpretation of genuine hospitableness.

In contrast, one might infer that Anne's view, about 'having to' talk to her guests as 'part of the job', suggests a more prescriptive approach, guided by 'professional' feeling rules born out of a desire to show that 'interacting' is integral to the host role. Here, Anne may present her 'professional' self rather than her own identity, and consequently her 'performance' may not be entirely sincere, though her professionalism suggests she would try to mask any insincerity. Anne would probably have to engage in deep acting to achieve her performance, trying to *feel* like talking to her guests even if she doesn't want to (Hochschild, 1979, 1983). In contrast, Chas could be interpreted as engaging in a mix of pecuniary and prescriptive emotion management, since the feeling rules guiding him are clearly commercial although he also came across to me as professional, wishing to appear 'friendly and polite' but not 'intimate'. He also suggested that he does not put on any 'act' but is himself, implying that he identifies with the commercial /professional approach he adopts. Hence Chas does not seem to feel any sense of imposed identity and thus avoids the cynical compliance associated with pecuniary emotion management.

Use of Symbolism

Staying with the overall notion of host-guest interactions, my data also revealed interesting examples of how these could be played out through the application of various behaviours and artefacts that symbolised the *nature* of the 'interaction' the host wished to nurture. For example, a number of hoteliers referred to 'remembering details' of guests, to later recall when the guest phones to make another booking, or when they arrive for a return visit. For some this activity seemed motivated by a genuine interest in the guest. This did not necessarily extend to the status of 'friendship' but took on a level of familiarity. As Bert commented '*it's nice...we remember everybody*' (Haydon Lodge) and Derek that

'They're not just a number, they're all known by their names...we introduce them' (Quivern). These expressions of the 'personal touch' were echoed in larger family hotels, exemplified by Mark's recollection that he always sent a 'personal letter in the sense that I would sign it individually' (Dalebourne). However, others implied a certain instrumentality behind such gestures. Hazel at Everdene for example observed *'I remember things about them...And they love that. and like we always send a Christmas card...that really gets them back'* and Sandra at Maple Lodge commented how a guest was *'so impressed that we've remembered the name and that counts for a lot'*.

However, attempting to foster the 'personal touch' seemed even more symbolic and proxy in nature in the large corporate setting. As Simon at Durley Dunes commented *'There's kind of things we...set in place, that would make guests feel more valued....when they stay so many nights we put a fruit bowl and when they've stayed twenty five nights, it's something else, and fifty, it's something else. And the card is signed by the whole team, to make them feel...We do do that personally'*. To what degree hoteliers and guests in these hotels believe such gestures symbolise a 'relationship' is a matter of conjecture, but in the context of customer relationship management one might imagine it could be portrayed as such. What was clear to me was that managers like Simon recognised that such gestures were necessary in corporate settings to convey the '*personal touch*', because, as he told me, it was acknowledged that they *'can't know every one personally'*. Simon's account suggests adoption of pecuniary emotion management underpinned by instrumental motives to satisfy the commercial feeling rules of seeking to exceed guests' expectations to encourage them to return. Such motives are reflected in Simon's language, such as doing things to *'make guests feel more valued'*, rather than using terms such as 'welcomed' that may be more commonly associated with private domain hospitality.

The strategy adopted at Durley Dunes also reflects a point made by Lashley (2000:10) that commercial hospitality can learn from understanding 'the nurturing and altruistic motives of those who cook, serve beverages, make beds, and create a safe environment' for the private domain, since these 'shape to some extent expectations of the non-domestic provision of hospitality activities'. Lashley (2000: 14) goes on to give advice that could arguably benefit operations such as Durley Dunes, that 'the key here is to make the giving seem like acts of genuine generosity rather than the formulaic "give-aways" typical of many branded hospitality business', a point echoed by Hemmington (2007: 747) who suggests commercial businesses should focus on 'the host-guest relationship, generosity, theatre and performance, "lots of little surprises"...'.

When guests say 'thank you'

An aspect of the 'personal' nature of host-guest interactions that starkly distinguished small hotels and large family hotels in my study from their corporate counterparts was the symbolic gestures afforded by guests themselves. I found guests' gestures of appreciation were widespread, a phenomenon that hosts generally met with considerable surprise. Examples of 'thank-you' tokens included '*little letters in the room*' (Shirley at Jaydon), being '*showered with gifts*' (Mark at Royden Court), people phoning to say *"thank you" for the Christmas card*' (Marion at Newmount) and receiving 'loads' (of thank-you cards) which *'got ridiculous'* (Heather at Zealands). Though surprised by this, hosts did clearly appreciate it, and expressed the positive effect it had on them. As Rich at Kamarillo enthused *'It's lovely! Keep it coming !!'* and for Terry at Woodley *'It just makes my heart sing. It sends me off'*. However, for Jenny at Farley Court the gestures themselves were met with some bemusement. She said *'I would no more dream of getting home, going out and buying a thank you card and sending it'*. So it would seem that guests who do this, to

some extent perceived the hospitality 'relationship' as reciprocal, not unlike the nature of private domain hospitality.

These exchanges also reveal the power of the interpersonal nature of emotion (Parkinson, 1995), that although these gestures were commonly met with surprise, the effect on hosts was profound, reflected in the effusive language used by Rich and Terry. An interpretation of what's happening here is that the signals conveyed by these 'thank-you' tokens helped to construct positive emotions in the hosts to make them 'feel good' about themselves and appreciated. From a sociological perspective one could also argue that a symbolic interactionist reading of these actions and reactions can help to explain the social exchange between host and guest. The heavy use of symbolism through the use of thank-you gestures, together with hosts' employment of 'personal touches' as explored earlier, provide the cues for desired emotional responses in both host and guest. In the case of 'thank-you' gestures, guests want hosts to feel appreciated, and guests want to feel the satisfaction of demonstrating that appreciation. Similarly, when hosts employ 'personal touches' they are seeking to elicit emotions in the guest such as feeling cherished, welcomed and 'special'. Perhaps both types of symbolic gesture - personal touches and thank-you tokens - reflect Hemmington's (2007:747) suggestion of '*lots of little surprises*'.

When guests expect servitude

However, a 'darker' side to host and guest interactions was also evident in my study, primarily in the large corporate setting but to some extent in small hotels. Simon, Duty Manager at Durley Dunes, explained that some guests could be '*demeaning*' and '*expect almost servitude rather than service*', that '*they expect you to be deferential...they expect a different level of deference*'. Perhaps not unsurprisingly, the response from staff in such enterprises was to '*just have to grin and bear it*' suggesting that they are expected to comply with corporate feeling rules to display a polite and acquiescent demeanour no matter how the guest treats them. Such expectations of staff suggest employment of pecuniary emotion management, not unlike the notion of emotional labour where emotional exchanges between employee and guest are non-reciprocal in the sense that the employee has to be nice to the guest, no matter what (Hochschild, 1983). Thus to satisfy commercial feeling rules, the identity of the employee is imposed, necessitating that they engage in identity work and emotion work to comply with the expected performance. This does not appear to give the staff any latitude to cope with the guests' attitudes so they cannot 'quite simply (refuse) to perform the "smiley face" routine' (Bolton, 2002: 135)

Similar guest attitudes were also evident in some small hotels. Celia at Brightsea for example recalled student guests who said to each other '*She's here to serve us, we pay her, she'll do as we say.*' Celia endured this because she needed their income until she was in a position to select a different type of guest. Illustrating a different example, Sheila at Beechlands was '*vett**ed*' by a group of guests for over an hour, with demands for '*the same rooms every year and the same table*'. However they subsequently became '*like friends...really close friends*' and '*return every year*'. Sheila's experience suggests that the guests shifted from interpreting hospitality as transactional to relational through the course of their association with Sheila and Beechlands (Lashley *et al* 2007). It would also seem that Sheila enjoyed relatively greater flexibility to respond to their demands compared to the disempowerment of staff at Durley Dunes. This reflects the relative autonomy experienced by small hotel owners to manage the emotionalities of the host-guest relationship in a manner more of their choosing. Hence rather than 'grinning and bearing it' one can speculate that Sheila was able to negotiate the expectations of her guests over

time, employing a Foucauldian approach to power sharing between them, to change their status from demanding commercial guests to that of 'friends'.

The path Sheila could choose to follow here thus appears to align more with Selwyn's (2000: 26) suggestion that hospitality is 'a symbolic interaction and the making of friends out of strangers' rather than the non-reciprocal nature of commercial hospitality. Arguably Sheila could effect this 'transformation' through her freedom to be an 'active knowledgeable agent' (Bolton, 2005a: 3), managing emotionalities of the situations by drawing on whatever emotion management roles she felt appropriate. Having the scope to do this reflects Bolton and Boyd's (2003: 291) suggestion that a flexible approach to emotion management can mean that 'actors are able to draw on different sets of feeling rules according to context and their individual motivations to do so'.

Thus the 'relationship' question brings into sharp focus not only the *idea* of a host-guest relationship, but also the nature of host-guest interactions that are played out within whatever interpretation is adopted. These interactions in turn demand different approaches to manage the emotionalities between host and guest. These can range from maybe exploring and negotiating the boundaries of 'friendship' on the one hand, to articulating clearly defined social rules governing a customer-provider interaction on the other. The remaining sections of this theme examine the emotionalities of three dimensions that emerged from my study that characterised host-guest interactions.

BOUNDARIES OF INFORMALITY

One significant aspect of host-guest relations that emerged from my data was the extent to which these relations were 'informal' in nature. I found 'informality' to be a common feature of the way hosts approached host-guest interactions, though the reasons for this seemed mixed. There was certainly an element of this being the host's preference, even when they did not like to interact all that much. For example, Sean at Ainsley tried to be '*fairly informal and use first names*' even though he contended that the job of the small hotelier was not to spend '*all the time chatting to people*'. However, 'informality' also seemed to be a style that aligned with the hotel also being the guest's home, where the connotation of 'home' tending to lean more towards informality than a formal approach. The question then was what form this 'informality' might take, for both host and guest. So for example, did guests like to have personal service but be addressed by their title? And what degree of informality did hosts feel comfortable with, bearing in mind the transactional reality that the guest was paying for hospitality? Additionally hosts could be concerned about the implications 'informality' might have on their own privacy in the home-hotel hybrid setting.

Associations with 'home'

Some hosts seemed to encourage guests to treat the hotel as 'home', saying for example that they wanted guests to '*feel at home*' (Derek at Quivern, Natalie at Royden Court and Donna at Violet Court). However, for others the notion of 'homeliness' was an anathema. Pam at Solent House for example said '*I hate the word "homely"*' preferring instead to nurture a '*relaxed*' atmosphere, a view echoed by Mike at Pebble Beach who recognised that when he changed his hotel image to attract a different clientele, the hotel environment became *less* homely though it was still very 'informal'. A desire to create a 'homely' ambience could be interpreted as reflecting the notion that guests expect a '*home away from home*' experience (Wood, 1994), so that hosts try to create an environment that makes the guest '*feel at home*' (Brotherton, 1999: 167). However, Pam's antipathy to the idea of 'homeliness' is reflected in Brotherton's argument that some guests may want to

feel anything *but* 'at home'. Pam's distinction between creating 'homeliness' and a 'relaxed' atmosphere suggests that she tends to be influenced more by social, than private, hospitality.

The hotel as the host's home also brings into view feelings that host and guest may have, or assume to have, about this phenomenon. Hence host and guest may assume that, as the hotel constitutes the host's home, that it is a 'homely' environment into which guests are implicitly 'invited' to behave as if it is *their* home. Whilst this idea resonates with the notion of hospitality being about making guests '*feel at home*' it brings with it the possibility of violation if guests misread the boundaries of using home space. As Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007:42) comment, the 'the notion of place' is 'subject to the rules of intimacy and distance' and is 'used symbolically to express levels of inclusion and exclusion'. The fragility of such understandings between host and guest about how each behaves in such close proximity bears out Sheringham and Daruwalla's (2007: 33) description of hospitality as '...a negotiated act between host and guest...described as transgressive in nature in that it infringes thresholds of physical, psychological and symbolic character'. Thus if a guest assumes he can treat the host's home as his own but the host feels this is unacceptable, the need for the home to be 'protected' from such strangers can take on greater symbolic significance for the host and evoke negative emotions toward the guest.

Hence the fact that the hotel is also the host's home can present a double-edged sword, on the one hand the 'home' association can imply and indeed encourage informality, with guests behaving 'as at home', whilst by its very nature 'the home' also demands 'protection' by the host from 'strangers'. Hence the level of informality permitted and fashioned in host-guest interactions presents a challenge to hosts in terms of how they manage the emotionalities implicit in the hospitality exchange itself, to satisfy the sensibilities of both parties.

'Intimacy'

Hosts also reported that 'informality' seemed to be desired and even expected by most guests. Indeed some suggested this was a characteristic of small hotels that positively attracted guests. As Rich at Kamarillo observed '*I think that's why a lot of people will stay in them*', with Mike at Pebble Beach adding that '*I feel people feel more relaxed probably in small hotels; you go to a big hotel where it's much more formal*'. Equally it can be the case that the very anonymity afforded by larger corporate hotels is part of *their* appeal (Lashley, 2000). However, what I found interesting in my study was the general sensitivity hosts displayed in not *assuming* that guests would welcome such informality, and being particularly cognisant of the preferences of older guests. Thus there was a strong sense that hosts sought 'permission' to be informal, and respected anyone's preference to remain as 'Mr. and Mrs.'

Hosts tended to play this very cleverly, often waiting for the guest to make the first move - '*I'm Fred and this is Edith*' for example (Bert at Haydon Lodge) - or taking the initiative by beginning formally and then allowing the hotel culture to effect a shift to informality, should the guest want it. As Donna reported '*invariably if they're here a couple of days they'll hear me in the dining room calling everybody by their first names and chatting and then they'll say "Oh would you like to call me whatever"*' (Violet Court). Marion at Newmount similarly commented '*older people, it's better to call them Mr. or Mrs. to start with and if they are comfortable with that, that's fine, but a lot of them say "Oh, my name is such-and-such"*'. She added that in her view '*You've got to be given permission to call people by their first name*', that '*it's just good manners...respecting people*'.

Hosts' handling of these sensitivities about using first name terms seems to accord with Bolton's view that 'a purposive agent...allows an understanding that, in negotiating between the feeling rules that are operative in different situations, actors are usually highly skilled from the point of view of the management of their emotions' (Bolton, 2005a: 3). Thus, as 'active knowledgeable agents' it can be inferred that hosts draw on a Goffmanian understanding of social interaction. By 'reading' the guest they can respond in ways that 'suit' each audience, for example by maintaining the use of titles. As we shall see in a later section of this theme, hosts might also expect to be able to grant permission to guests to behave with familiarity toward them. Hazel at Everdene for example did not like guests who 'hug' and 'kiss' by way of greeting.

Informality and identity

Another interesting aspect of informality was exemplified by Mike at Pebble Beach. 'Informality' seemed integral to the hotel image he was creating and was reflected in how he described himself. Mike implied that he presented this image to guests, to 'fit' his hotel style, and did not entertain any notion of moulding this demeanour to suit more 'formal' preferences. He argued '*I'm a very informal character...my natural approach is to be very warm, chatty and most people in this type of market appreciate that...You know "Hi, come on in, how are you?"...I don't open the door and say "Good morning Sir...please take a seat"...I talk to them like a friend I support; that's naturally my style and I think we'll become known for that*'. Mike's view thus seems to suggest that he wants to use his natural informal style as integral to his hotel style and that this style suits the sort of people he wants to attract, so there is no need for him to vary his approach. Mike hence seems to use a mix of presentational and prescriptive emotion management. His presentation of 'himself' accords with both, but particularly the former, as does his 'sincere performance', naturally communicating feelings of warmth and friendliness to welcome his guests. The influence of the latter appears to lie primarily in Mike's motivation which seems to be a confluence of his own style with the professional image he wishes to portray. Thus his guiding feeling rules could be considered primarily professional, to effect a professional identity, but which also aligns with his own identity (Bolton, 2005a).

BOUNDARIES OF 'KNOWING' THE GUEST

Not unrelated to the last section but different in emphasis and scope, is the extent to which hosts wanted to, needed to, and indeed could, 'know' their guests. This dimension of host-guest interactions is also not divorced from the fourth section of this theme, whether guests can be, and should be, 'friends' of the host. Reference to 'getting to know' guests was commonplace, with some hosts suggesting that guests in small hotels also '*get to know the owners*' (Pam at Solent House). At one level this could appear a natural consequence of the pervasiveness of informality in these small hotels and the physical intimacy of the small hotel setting, that since hosts and guests share a physical space their paths inevitably cross throughout the course of the guest's stay. However at another level, 'getting to know' the guest (and host) could follow a deliberate path.

A deliberate strategy

One reason for hosts deliberately choosing to 'get to know' their guests seemed to be a desire to nurture some aspect of the business. Mike at Pebble Beach for example wanted to get guests to '*buy into the project, the whole idea*' about his hotel refurbishment being "*work in progress*". Sandra similarly said that she and her family '*need to get to know the guests*' so would '*take it in turns getting to know people*', to build their hotel clientele, having just taken on ownership of Maple Lodge. Mike's approach accords with the

'presentational' element of his emotion management strategy shown by his sincerity and honesty with his guests. However this contrasts with Sandra's implicitly pecuniary approach. The feeling rules guiding Sandra's apparent 'hospitableness' seem to be commercial in origin. Thus her overtures of 'getting to know' her guests could be interpreted as being driven by 'an ulterior motive, namely the profit motive' (Telfer, 2000:42). Sandra's idea that they would '*take it in turns to get to know people*' implies a need to engage in a degree of 'acting' to convey the 'friendly' emotions necessary for guests to feel 'known' (Hochschild, 1983). Whilst this could reflect Darke and Gurney's (2000: 83) observation that a host's performance can necessitate 'careful and continual impression management' there is a danger that hosts such as Sandra come across in the manner described by Ritzer as '...the false friendliness of staff members who follow scripts designed to make them seem...as if they are "really" friendly' (Ritzer, 2007: 134). Sandra's example illustrates how 'getting to know' guests can equate to hosts building 'mental databases' of guests' details to replay at future junctures to give the impression of reconnecting with old friends.

Some hosts seemed to nurture the impression of 'friendship' whilst not necessarily suggesting becoming 'friends' with their guests. Rebecca at Chinedale for example said '*We really do try to get to know people and make them feel like we're friends to them*'. Rebecca's turn of phrase is interesting here, that she refers to being 'friends to' guests not 'friends with' them. This suggests a wish to give an illusion of 'friendliness' whilst maintaining boundaries within the relationship that do not extend to 'friendship'. However, in contrast again, some hosts appeared to overtly nurture 'friendships' with their guests. The stimulus to do this could derive from a host's own sense of wanting to feel 'emotionally' connected with the guest, seeing them almost as 'family' for example, but could also derive from guests themselves, seeking a level of connection not unlike that of family and friends. Faced with the latter scenario hosts might either encourage or at least not dissuade the guest, or may choose not to reciprocate such 'familiarity'. So here again, the boundaries of 'knowing' guests – and indeed guests 'knowing' hosts – present a challenge to hosts as to how they manage the emotionalities this issue creates. This very interesting dimension of host-guest relations in small hotels warrants further attention and will hence be considered in more detail in the next section of this theme where I explore the idea of guests as 'friends'.

'Knowing' and 'privacy'

However, another aspect of guests 'knowing' hosts was that some hosts felt concerned about managing their own privacy. Hosts' personal circumstances for example could be a source of curiosity, such as Jon and Sean's gay relationship. As Jon commented '*They pry a bit. They're dying to get something out of you!*' Jon did not seem fazed by such cross-examination, joking that by the end of his explanations to guests, '*they probably think we're a "couple of nice boys"*' (said jokingly, in a very camp voice). However, for Sean, if intrusion went too far, he reacted. He told the tale of some evangelists who left notes saying how Jon and Sean were "*seriously tempting the wrath of God*" to which Sean responded with '*a very straight talking letter!*'

Both Jon and Sean appear to adopt presentational emotion management here, guided by a wish to maintain the social order of their hotel and protect their own identities (Bolton, 2005a). However, they clearly differed in how they handled this, with Jon arguably seeking to negotiate order by 'managing' guests' questions, whilst Sean chose to deal with it directly, and perhaps slightly confrontationally. These two approaches reflect their explanation that their different personalities align with different levels of tolerance, with Jon tending to play the 'good cop' and Sean the 'bad cop'. A further reading of these

behaviours could be that whilst Jon seeks to negotiate order with the guest (Strauss, 1978), Sean seems to pay no heed to notions of customer sovereignty (Sturdy, 2001), being prepared to 'take on' the guest rather than letting the matter go. Sean's choice of approach is another example of the relative autonomy enjoyed by small hotel owners to negotiate power between themselves and their guests, rather than assuming the guest can behave as he likes under the cover of customer sovereignty.

However for others, 'intrusion' could be more a case of inappropriateness than nosiness. Rebecca at Chinedale recalled a guest who was very demanding and *'got very personal about my son and us'*. Rebecca's response was to deal with the problem directly, telling the guest *"Look, that's not something you need to know"*, thus reaffirming the boundaries of 'knowing' that she considered appropriate for that host-guest relationship. Rebecca, like Jon, seemed to adopt a negotiated approach to managing this relationship, using presentational emotion management to reaffirm the boundaries of acceptable behaviour. It could also be inferred that she is direct in her approach, but not in the manner of wresting power from the guest as perhaps Sean sought to do. Rather, Rebecca's intention is to maintain the stability of host-guest relations (Bolton, 2005a).

BOUNDARIES OF 'RELATING' – GUESTS AS FRIENDS?

My discovery of fairly widespread adoption of the idea of 'guests as friends' was something of a surprise to me. I was particularly intrigued by the degree of 'intimacy' that this sometimes involved. However, despite its apparent pervasiveness, the notion of becoming 'friends' with guests also drew sharply contrasting emotional responses from different hosts.

'Friends'

Ruby at Ankara was an example of a host who felt that one of the best things about owning a hotel was *'the friends we've made really'*. Sandra at Maple Lodge similarly contended that *'we've got more friends now'*, with Heather at Zealands agreeing *'I think we've made some really good friends'*. For some hoteliers, this state of 'friendship' between host and guest was nurtured over many years. Mark at Dalebourne for example commented that even after he had sold his hotel he had *'at least a dozen small reunions...because we desperately didn't want to lose these Bournemouth aficionados who'd been coming to us for years'*. Thus the notion of developing, and even encouraging, 'friendships' with guests was evident in both small and large hotels.

'Family friends' and 'friends as family'

However, what was even more surprising to me was the *depth* of attachment that could exist between host and guest. The most striking example of this was again in a large hotel. The business had passed through three generations of one family through its 50-year ownership, and thus provided plenty of scope for guest 'returners' to demonstrate the sort of affection and attachment that Jenny at Farley Court recalled. In one case, a guest had contacted Jenny, *'really worried that they hadn't heard from me about the baby'* (Jenny's daughter-in-law was expecting), so Jenny had felt obliged to write and tell the guest that *'I'm sorry I missed you off the list'*. It would seem apparent from Jenny's account that it was the *guests* who sought this level of 'relationship' and status of 'friend' or even 'family friend'. However, as Jenny readily acknowledged, such a 'relationship' and level of intimacy was contingent on having staff (including Jenny) who were prepared to reciprocate, and whilst 'older' staff were happy to do this, younger staff were not so keen. Nonetheless, a level of intimacy was evident, for host as well as for guest. When a

guest told Jenny's son (who manages the hotel now), that she had cancer, he '*was terribly upset*'. Similar accounts were also regaled in small hotels. Max at Royden Court for example explained that some guests had '*broken down in tears because they've had to go home*' adding that when this happens he too feels '*It's quite upsetting*'. One can't imagine such a scene unfolding in a large corporate hotel.

Hosts' sentiments here suggest a relational approach to hospitality provision (Selwyn, 2000), employing a mix of presentational and philanthropic emotion manager roles to fashion a host-guest relationship with a degree of reciprocity (Lashley *et al*, 2007). It can be inferred that such an approach is heavily influenced by social and private domain hospitality. Hence the host-guest relationship appears almost 'non-commercial', or as Murray (1990:17) suggests, can be considered as a relationship of two social roles, host and guest. In this case, the idea of Jenny's guests entering into a transactional exchange with her seems almost incongruous. However, a further reading of this scenario is that hosts like Jenny and her staff might take on the role of an 'emotional sponge', soaking up emotions from their guests. This is not unlike the experience of matrons in Allan and Smith's study (2005: 24) who 'absorbed' others' emotions but distanced themselves from being 'sucked in'. Thus Jenny and her staff might similarly face the challenge of coping with their guests' emotional demands, balancing 'caring' and 'distancing'.

However, Jenny's account seems to go beyond a philanthropic role to an almost co-relational reciprocal relationship reflecting the gift exchange of private emotion work. Hochschild explains this as involving 'psychological "bowing"' where both actors in a social exchange pay attention to the 'feeling rules' of how to 'pay respect' to one another through the 'currency of feeling' (Hochschild, 1983: 83). In this 'currency exchange' we can pay what is due, over pay or underpay. In Jenny's story, it could be argued that she 'underpaid' by not maintaining 'emotional' contact with the guest, but then 'settled her account' with the letter of apology. In the context of the host-guest relationship, this seems to conflict with Sheringham and Daruwalla's advice (2007:38) that, whilst 'the act of hospitality relies on a transformative process concerned with converting stranger to guest' they caution that 'However, it must stop short of complete and permanent integration into the host's "household"'. Whilst Jenny's guests are clearly not physically integrated into the Farley Court 'household', their emotional and symbolic integration is nevertheless implied in Jenny's accounts. Hence they seem to evolve from 'family friends' to 'friends as family'.

This suggests to me that host-guest relationships such as those between Jenny and her guests demand a 'new' terminology beyond Bolton's typology of emotion manager roles for organisational settings, since 'philanthropic' does not entirely capture the intimacy of the relationships hosts such as Jenny depicted. Thus to Bolton's typology I therefore suggest the addition of a fifth emotion manager role to reflect and explain the relationship between service provider and client in organisations such as Farley Court. I attribute the term *personalized* to this 'new' emotion manager role. Using Bolton's framework, I suggest this has the following profile. Feeling rules are likely to be social and private, motivations will include 'gift' as in Bolton's philanthropic role but also humanity and empathy, the performance is likely to be characterised by sincerity and commitment as with Bolton's philanthropic model, identity will be similarly associated with the 'self', and the consequences are likely to be stability and satisfaction, but also integration, the implication being that some of the 'relationships' sustained through employing this role may be 'permanent'.

The profile of a fifth emotion manager role I have outlined here aligns with Bolton's (2008) later argument for the role of human agency to bring humanity to social interaction, to reinforce the notion of social connectedness in communities. Arguably this is not

unfamiliar in private domain hospitality, but its place in commercial organisational settings is less clear, suggesting as it does a shift from a commercial focus. One could be tempted to explain Jenny's response to her guests as derived from lifestyle rather than business motives. However, my reading of Jenny was that she is quite definitely concerned with running a business, but her business clients tend to be elderly guests who like to have a personal connection with the hotel owner. Hence I argue that these personal relationships are integral to the business, which in turn demands that hotel owners adopt different emotion management roles to fashion the sort of intimate relationships the client wants.

A further reading of such relationships could be that guests such as Jenny's align with Bolton and Houlihan's (2005a: 685) argument that there is a need to 'reinterpret customer service interaction as a *human relationship*'. These clients could also reflect Bolton and Houlihan's (2005:686) depiction of 'moral agents', who, as just one group of heterogeneous customers, 'fully engaged with service providers, recognizing that service providers and customers are economic and social actors and that customer interaction is a socially relevant activity'. Hence, guests such as these may bring to the host-guest relationship their own interpretations of the social nature of that relationship, beyond its economic exchange characteristic. As such this exposes the relationship to the potential for different forms of 'exchange', demanding different approaches to emotion management by the host. Arguably, a 'personalized' emotion management role is a valuable addition to the repertoire already established by Bolton (2005a).

Sentiments similar to those expressed by Jenny were also evident in small hotels. Max at Royden Court for example referred to guests as '*just like family really*', with Sheila at Beechlands elaborating that her '*regulars*' are '*more like family. They ring me up and tell the whole lot and tell me who's died and tell me what's going on*'. Again, it is hard to envisage guests maintaining similar contact with managers of large corporate hotels. Sheila revealed a further dimension of 'knowing' her guests as 'proxy' 'family' or 'friends'. Like other hoteliers have mentioned, Sheila would 'remember' her guests when they called to make a new booking. But Sheila's 'remembering' was not used to replay some recalled details back to the guest to convey a sense of intimacy and imply a notion of 'special' treatment or being valued. For Sheila, it was to bring to mind the characters of the guests she knows, much as a call from a family member might conjure up a picture of them in one's mind. So when Sheila's '*regulars*' call she knows by their voices whether it's the '*lady who doesn't like gravy*' or the '*lady who when she came ...I called "the laughing lady", chuckles all the time*'. These affectionate vignettes reveal a natural intimacy between host and guest, born out of genuine 'friendship' and not constructed to convey any impression of familiarity, the familiarity here being created spontaneously.

At first glance this approach seems to reflect the co-relational intimacy of Jenny and her elderly guests, suggesting adoption of the 'personalized' emotion manager role I am proposing. However, a closer reading of Sheila's account suggests that by conferring familiar 'identities' onto her guests Sheila achieves a level of 'intimacy' but 'at a distance', not unlike how the matrons in Allan and Smith's study (2005). An interesting postscript to Sheila's portrayal of her host-guest 'friendships' was the unsolicited loyalty displayed by her '*regulars*'. When she mooted the idea of selling up and getting somewhere smaller they declared their wish to follow her, that they're '*sick of moving. If you have to sell we will come with you...*'. 'Loyalty' could also take other forms, illustrative of the diversity amongst small hotels and the huge variety of guests and clients they accommodate. This was manifested poignantly at Brightsea where the Council moved post-care clients to another hotel. Celia recalled how the youngsters returned to her in the night, asking "*Please let me come back. Please let me come back*". Hence it could be inferred that for these 'guests' Brightsea may have represented 'home' and Celia 'family'.

Just 'guests'

In contrast to the accounts thus far, some hosts, like Rich at Kamarillo considered it unrealistic for guests to become 'friends' since they did not stay with hosts for long enough. Others went further, contending it was inappropriate and not '*necessarily good for business*' (Derek at Quivern). However, at another level, a couple of hosts vehemently expressed their fundamental distaste for the idea, though their reasons for this differed. Pam at Solent House considered it '*awful*' to adopt the "*Come as guests, leave as friends*" attitude.' She recognised that this does happen but was adamant that it should not be encouraged. Pam's view was that '*you've got to be a bit big-headed to imagine that everyone who leaves here is going to leave as your best friend*'.

However, Hazel at Everdene went further still. For her, the idea of 'guests as friends' was antithetical to her interpretation of being an hotelier running a commercial business. She put it baldly, that in her view '*We're their servants when they're here and they're our source of income*'. A commercial rationale seemed to be at the heart of Hazel's view, though it also seemed to be a matter of personal preference. She explained that she was uncomfortable with the notion of being '*too chummy*' with guests, criticising fellow hoteliers who did this. She also eschewed any familiar behaviour initiated by guests, such as '*guests that hug you...I don't necessarily want a hug and a kiss or anything*'. Thus Hazel maintained the social order of her hotel by keeping '*a professional sort of respect*' including never calling guests by their first name. In this way she conveyed feeling rules about the 'distance' that should be maintained between host and guest to avoid the level of intimacy she clearly abhors and feels is inappropriate for the business context.

SUMMARISING THE HOST-GUEST 'RELATIONSHIP'

Within the contested notion of host-guest connections constituting a 'relationship', the mix of the three strands of host-guest interactions explored here – informality, 'knowing', and 'friendships' - are not necessarily mutually aligned nor are mutually exclusive. Rather, a range of combinations seems possible, perhaps reflecting the breadth of needs and wishes of individual hosts and their guests and the willingness and capability of hosts to employ different emotion management strategies to manage these. Complex and integrated host-guest relations were therefore evident in this study. For example, some hosts positively eschewed any idea that they could be friends with guests, perceiving the hospitality exchange as transactional and commercially focused, but still nurtured an informal atmosphere and got to 'know' guests to a certain extent. Yet others showed how the idea of 'guests as friends' presented some interesting paradoxes reflecting the complexity of host-guest emotionalities and the influence of the host's personality and motives. For example, some were naturally gregarious and revelled in being friendly with guests whilst others leaned more toward a caring role, acting as an 'emotional sponge' for guests to 'offload'.

Further, the idea of guests as friends reached to the heart of how hosts interpret hospitality, for example as relational or transactional, with the former associated with more lifestyle motives and the latter a commercial imperative. Hence, hosts who sought friendship from guests in lieu of a 'life outside' might be interpreted as using host-guest interactions as a basis for nurturing a lifestyle of sorts. Others, like Hazel, clearly perceived running a hotel to be a business in which the idea of 'guests as friends' had no part. In the first scenario, social and private domains seem to be influential, whilst in the latter the emphasis is commercial.

The complex picture that emerges as to how informality, 'knowing' and 'friendship' can be manifested in different combinations also reminds us of the intrinsically emotional nature of these interactions and the array of emotionalities and sensibilities that contribute to these interactions and how they are managed.

HOST ROLES

The third theme to emerge from my data analysis was that owners of small hotels adopt a range of 'roles' to perform the function of 'host'. These are sometimes of the hotelier's choosing but are at other times a function of circumstance or guest expectations, for example having to 'police' guest behaviour or act as a 'surrogate' relative. The roles I have identified as appearing particularly significant to hosts in my study are those of 'professional', 'carer', 'facilitator', 'regulator' and 'policeman'. The way hosts adopt these vary from for example identifying with the role as a manifestation of their own persona and/or by donning a range of 'masks' to play out whatever role is needed to facilitate the host-guest relationship. Hence, execution of these can demand a range of behaviours and techniques, from behaving quite 'naturally' to putting on a variety of 'acts'. Hence in addition to discussing the roles, I will explore a range of behaviours hosts might display to perform them.

THE 'PROFESSIONAL'

I interpreted hosts having 'professional' roles to include for example doing things 'properly' and maintaining a 'distance' to avoid becoming too 'familiar' with the guest. The notion of being 'professional' seemed to be a concept that hosts generally found hard to explain. Sandra for example struggled to say what she meant by the term, which perhaps illustrates how hosts may not be able to readily draw on appropriate discourses to explain what they feel (McHoul and Grace, 1995:35). However, in Sandra's case she did so by identifying with the guest, an approach that resonates with interpreting the host-guest relationship as a connection between two social roles (Murray, 1990:17). Sandra used her empathy with guests to explain 'professional' as making guests '*feel special*' emphasising that '*that's important, that's one of the biggest things in a hotel, making guests feel special*'.

Doing things 'properly'

For some hosts, being 'professional' meant doing things '*properly*' (Hazel at Everdene for example about her husband Ricky). Doing things 'properly' could infer adherence to professional and organisational feeling rules to convey the image that she and Ricky sought to convey of the hotel as 'well run' and 'professional'. This in turn could suggest the use of prescriptive emotion management. A more tangible interpretation of 'professional', though along similar lines, was given by Rebecca of Chinedale who argued that she and her family try to be professional '*in terms of that they get good service, everything runs smoothly where it should*'. Rich at Kamarillo concurred, adding that 'professional' also meant guests feeling that '*they're looked after*'.

Being 'professional' and 'friendly'

Whilst Hazel and Ricky's approach might be interpreted as employing prescriptive emotion management, Rebecca and Sandra seemed to use of a mix of presentational and prescriptive emotion management, suggesting they were influenced by both social and commercial hospitality domains. They wanted the host-guest relationship to run '*smoothly*', implying a professional dimension, but at the same time wished to present the

sincerity of a friendly approach. This suggests a desire to balance being both 'professional' and 'friendly'. This would hence mean adopting more than one role and having to 'manage' inter-role boundaries, which could present a challenge. This was so for Mike at Pebble Beach who admitted that *'there's probably a boundary between professionalism and informality...and that...might get blurred sometimes, calling people by their first names'*. Mike went on to argue that 'informality' was his natural style but, not unlike Rebecca and Rich, he appeared to employ a blend of emotion management roles, combining elements of prescriptive and presentational approaches. However as he implies here, the 'blurring' of these roles of 'professional' and 'informal' roles (the latter I classify as 'facilitator') also suggest a tension between the influences of social and commercial domain hospitality. Arguably Mike is pursuing a commercial imperative to make his hotel successful by matching his clientele to his hotel identity (Tucker and Lynch, 2004: 13), but also wants to present himself as himself through his informal style, which is also intrinsic to his hotel identity. This is illustrative of how personal and social identities can overlap (Alvesson et al, 2008).

THE 'CARER'

I interpreted hosts having 'carer' roles to include situations where they show concern for, or responsibility toward, their guests. This could involve adopting 'surrogate' familial roles, such as a being a mother figure or behaving as a granddaughter to guests.

'Natural concern' and 'sense of responsibility'

Some hosts, like Ruby at Ankara and Sheila at Beechlands, naturally 'worried' whether guests returned to the hotel safely. Sheila, for example, liked to *'know everybody's in'* whilst Ruby was particularly concerned about elderly guests if *'they go to the pub and that...you worry "Oh I hope he got back all right"'*. A similar sentiment, though articulated more starkly, was given by Hazel at Everdene who recalled that *'We have once or twice gone up to check that somebody's not dead, if they've not appeared for breakfast'*. Others simply said they felt 'responsible' for guests' welfare. For Max at Royden Court, this had seemed the *'natural thing to do'*. Terry at Woodley on the other hand, seemed to adopt a more agential stance, explaining that he wanted guests to feel they could *'rely'* on him so that *'if they get any stuff that I will sort it out,'* where 'stuff' could be anything from something being wrong with the room to dealing with noisy guests. Sometimes hosts took this a stage further, taking it upon themselves to 'look out' for their guests. Phil and Shirley at Jaydon for example took at face value a soldier guest's account that a bomb had exploded nearby. They proceeded to check all the TV channels through the night to get more information on the situation, only to find that the guest had experienced a flashback to being in Iraq. Not only did Phil and Shirley lose sleep over this, going to bed finally at *'half five, six o'clock'*, but they invested considerable emotion work in 'caring' for this guest, *'going through all the dilemmas of life'* wondering *'what we're going to do, what we're going to do'*.

Surrogate 'familial' roles

Some hosts reported that they sometimes adopted roles that they described in relational terms such as 'mother figure' or 'like a grandfather'. I have termed these 'surrogate familial' roles to capture the 'familial' images hosts conveyed to me. Celia at Brightsea for example found herself 'looking after' post-care clients when the Council started asking her to carry out additional functions to support them. In her words she became *'an unpaid social worker'*. Whilst she expressed some resentment about this expectation of her Celia also admitted that she *'felt a little bit sorry for the people...and I had a lot of empathy for*

these young people'. Hence, as she put it, *'I guess I sort of looked at it as a bit of a Mother Theresa for them'*. So it seems that although Celia felt 'put upon' by the Council, her response was influenced by her empathy with the clients, based on her own similar experience as a young woman. It could be inferred from Celia's account that the memory of her own experience contributed a psychodynamic dimension to construction of her emotions that shaped how she dealt with these clients. Thus arguably her apparent resentment at being 'unpaid' arising from her social exchanges with the Council was mitigated by her own feelings of empathy with the young people.

Examples such as Celia's show how hosts can adapt to the demands placed upon them using their roles as 'a vehicle that mediates and negotiates meanings constructed in relational interactions' (Simpson and Carroll, 2008:34). Celia's account therefore suggests that she is not entirely uncomfortable with the role conferred on her, and that the blurring of her roles as 'host' and 'social worker' mirror her adaptability. This could be interpreted as reflecting a post-modern reading of personal and social identities as 'a process of holding and resolving different social-emotional narratives about who we are, who we were, and who we wish to be' (Fineman, 2008:5). Shirley at Jaydon also unwittingly experienced a 'surrogate' role, which she described as *'being a mum ...when you lay in bed ...you just wait for that little click of the door to know they're in... "Oh that's the girls in or that's number 8 in."*' Like Celia's experience, it could be inferred that Shirley's memory of her experience as a 'mum' contributed intrapsychic feelings that shaped her emotional response to 'care for' her guests in this way.

Boundaries of 'surrogacy'

However, some hosts were clearly uncomfortable with roles they sometimes found themselves adopting. Terry at Woodley for example had to remonstrate with a group of young girls away on holiday for the first time who were *'chucking clothes up and down the stairs'*. He said he felt *'like I was this old grandfather!'* Their behaviour had an adverse effect on Terry who was *'tired...tired...the constant worry of what you were going to be faced with'*. Others went further, drawing clear boundaries as to what roles guests could expect. Marion at Newmount for example was *'wary'* of parents leaving their children in the hotel while they went out, explaining that *'effectively they're my responsibility'*.

In another situation a host unwittingly fell into the role of 'carer', while she was still exploring what should be the boundaries of guest behaviour in her first year of hotel ownership. Heather at Zealands had been tipped off that 'Walter' was 'awkward' but her own assessment was that he was 'lonely'. She thus spent the best part of this stay making him cups of tea and doing little favours for him such as his washing and shopping. As she described her dealings with Walter, Heather commented that *'he reminded me of my Granddad'*. However, this host-guest relationship inevitably became strained as Walter's expectations continued unchecked until Heather could take it no longer. She explained that this point of frustration arose when Walter asked her *'every minute'* when would she be free to take him shopping, as she had said she would do if she had time. Finally, Heather passed the 'problem' to husband Ken saying *'For God's sake before I go out of my mind can you take Walter to Boscombe?!'* This perhaps illustrates the dangers of hosts adopting 'surrogate' familial roles without clear boundaries of what guests can reasonably expect. To establish such boundaries the host too has to be clear as to what he or she is prepared to do, to avoid mixed messages being conveyed. However, without such boundaries negotiating individual guest demands can present significant practical and emotional challenges.

‘FACILITATOR’

I interpreted a ‘facilitator’ role to include hosts’ behaviours that aimed to ensure guests’ well-being, comfort and satisfaction.

Hospitableness and ‘hosting’

As my interpretation implies, hosts might adopt a ‘facilitator’ role in situations when they are being ‘hospitable’ and where they act as ‘a host.’ Here, I use Brillat-Savarin’s view of ‘hospitable’ as meaning that you ‘...*make yourself responsible for his happiness so long as he is beneath your roof*’ (Telfer, 2000:39). ‘Hospitableness’ can be distinguished from ‘hosting’, since hosts may attend to the needs of the guest whilst not necessarily seeking to ensure their happiness (Brotherton, 2000; Telfer, 2000). Derek at Quivern for example felt that he was a ‘*host*’ to his guests, introducing them to one another for example, but did not always feel inclined to ‘talk’ to them. In contrast, Terry at Woodley liked to be seen as a host so that guests ‘*feel my enthusiasm*’. He emphasised that he deliberately portrays this image, calling himself ‘host’ on his business card as opposed to ‘*proprietor*’ which he considers ‘*very Fawlty Towers*’. However, as we shall see later Terry, like a number of hoteliers, adopted more than one role, sometimes taking on the job of a ‘regulator’ for example. This illustrates how individual hosts can adopt different ‘masks’ to suit different circumstances.

Being ‘friendly’

Another interpretation of facilitation is illustrated in Ruby’s wish to be ‘*friendly and attentive...accommodating*’ (Ankara). This sentiment was shared by Chas at Chesildene though interpreted differently. Chas conveyed all the information he felt guests needed through a ‘welcome pack,’ an approach that was consistent with his view that he does not enter into ‘relationships’ with guests. The term ‘*friendly*’ was also used widely by other hosts such as Shirley at Jaydon, Donna at Violet Court, and Mary of a large hotel Grasmere. Indeed Mary explained how she encouraged young staff to convey a ‘friendly’ image. She gives them clear guidance as to how to do this, to overcome their lack of confidence, which, she argues, can be mistaken for ‘unfriendliness’. In contrast, Jenny, at another large hotel Farley Court, suggested that staff should be ‘*a friendly...sort of personality*’. The impressionistic importance of the host’s role alluded to here was also implied by Mike at Pebble Beach. He admitted that whilst his hotel was undergoing refurbishment ‘*Because of the limitations of the rooms...we have had to over compensate on the personal service*’, and ‘*that means me*’. Mike emphasised ‘*From the moment they call, to when they get here, to who serves them at breakfast and who sees them off, they see me...I have to be there to welcome the guests, to serve them at table, to talk to them in the evening and to say goodbye...Which has been hard work*’. Whilst this example reveals a host’s expectations of himself, Vera, owner of another large hotel Yarmouth gave the mirror image that guests can ‘*expect to see you...they like to be greeted and remembered*’.

‘Reading’ the guest

It also emerged that a challenge hosts seemed to face in ‘facilitating’ the host-guest relationship was ‘reading’ the guest’s mood. Sandra at Maple Lodge described this as ‘*probably one of the hardest things because people come into your hotel in all different moods*’. She exemplified that guest demeanours on arrival could range from being ‘*bubbly*’ to ‘*picking for a fight*’. However, Marion at Newmount contended that ‘*You can normally tell*’ that ‘*you can guess, you can just feel*’ those who want company and those

that prefer to stay in their room, and that as hoteliers you have to '*sort of sense their mood*'. However, what was interesting here was the approach taken in the corporate hotel Durley Dunes. Duty Manager Simon explained how guests from their two markets, corporate and leisure, wanted 'different things'. So in his view, he felt that corporate guests were generally not there '*by choice*' so that '*it's very hard because ...they have a very stern manner*' which he said was '*harder to break down*' but that '*you have to do that...and it is almost breaking down that kind of boundary*'. This is a revealing comparison with Marion's suggestion that people who do not want company should be respected and left alone, that that's '*fine by me*'. Rather, it would seem that staff at Durley Dunes almost have a 'mission' to 'engage' the corporate guest, whatever the guest's 'mood'.

Host behaviour such as that depicted by Simon implies that the 'reluctant' guest is seen as a 'challenge' that the host must address. This begs the question as to whether such a response is a misreading of guests as homogenous, in contrast to Bolton and Houlihan's (2005) findings of a call centre that showed 'customers...as "many-faceted, complex and sophisticated social actors"'. One type of customer that Bolton and Houlihan identified was 'functional transactants' who 'want to carry out a transaction in the simplest manner possible'. Arguably, Simon's corporate guests may fall into this category, or, like those mentioned by Marion, may simply not wish to engage in a 'relationship' with the host. The need for hosts to 'read' such situations reinforces the contention that hospitality employees need to be '...skilled emotion managers, flexible enough to move between different service contexts, delivering different emotional performances on demand' (Seymour and Sandiford, 2005: 561). These examples hence illustrate that hosts need to know how to respond to the way guests react to them.

THE 'REGULATOR'

I interpreted hosts' adoption of a 'regulator' role to be their engagement in activities designed to forestall 'trouble', for example by establishing and negotiating boundaries of guest behaviour. The need for such a role reflects the view of hospitality as a 'negotiated act between host and guest' (Sheringham and Daruwalla, 2007:33).

The 'speech'

A number of hosts approached this role by giving a 'speech' or a 'reading of the riot act' at the start of the guest's stay. This was particularly common for dealing with party groups. Humour could be a key ingredient here as illustrated by Hazel who reminded young guests to close the front door saying '*don't want the mad axe-man to come in!*' Marion at Newmount also implied a tinge of humour in her serious policy of '*one out, all out*' saying '*When they walk in the door and they are stone cold sober...they get a tongue lashing!*' Using a slightly different approach Terry at Woodley seemed to try to 'connect' with his guests through the language he used, saying for example '*have a blast, have fun, but when you get back in through that door, just bring it down*'. Terry also admitted that he had '*an act*' for doing this, that he has '*staged*', suggesting that he needs to engage in emotion work to deliver his 'performance'.

Managing guest space

Another ploy used by hosts to 'control' guest behaviour was to 'zone' party guests to contain any disturbance they might cause to others. This was used by Pam at Solent House and Diane, owner of a large hotel Tipton. Judy at Eastleigh employed more extreme measures, deliberately accommodating party guests in a separate building from

family visitors, since she was never comfortable *'with the idea of mixing the two.'* In a similar vein Rich ensured that rooms were *'stripped to a minimum so all the niceties have almost gone'*. Some hosts also restricted party guests' access to hotel facilities. Celia at Brightsea for example only operated a *'Welcome Bar'* that guests could use before going out, but then it was locked!

'Rules'

Some hosts interpreted a regulator role to mean implementing a range of rules for day-to-day 'control' of guest behaviour, such attempts to maintain social order suggesting the influence of social domain hospitality. Derek at Quivern for example likened the rules he employed for student guests as something analogous to a *'boot camp'*, but said this mainly in jest. He went on to explain that most of the rules were relaxed, his main intention being to appear reasonable and fair. He also employed a midnight curfew, which he alleged was for the benefit of guests rather than himself and his wife, though did comment that it avoided people *'coming back at 3 or 4 in the morning...screaming and shouting and disturbing the neighbours'* suggesting it was a measure that he also welcomed. However, Derek also admitted that this rule too was very difficult to enforce since he and his wife tend to go to bed at 10 or 11 o'clock. Max at Royden Court on the other hand was considering implementing such an approach and it was clear that this was quite clearly for his and Natalie's benefit. As Natalie put it he *'can't settle until everybody's gone, so that means I can't settle!'*

Appropriate dress

An area of ambiguity that could arise in 'managing' guest behaviour was guests behaving – and dressing – as they might do at home. Hosts varied in their levels of tolerance of this. Some liked guests to 'feel at home' whilst others felt guests ought to 'read' the implicit behaviour codes operating in the hotel and take their cue from how others, to conform or go elsewhere. Hosts' concerns seemed to originate from their own sense of 'what is right', together with unease as to what other guests 'might say', reflecting the influence of hosts' own values and social domain hospitality. Hosts also varied in their willingness to do anything to address guest 'transgressions' (Guerrier and Adib, 2000; Sheringham and Daruwalla, 2007). This could suggest that some see this as a 'personal' matter encroaching on personal privacy and freedom and which hosts may feel uncomfortable about confronting.

Rich at Kamarillo for example was uncomfortable about what other guests would say about those who came down to breakfast in their pyjamas. He felt that if they were *'looking down their nose,'* he would speak to the 'errant' guests, because *'at the end of the day it's my place'*. However, 'policing' such behaviour could be problematic, as Terry at Woodley reported about a neighbouring hotelier who asked a guest to return to the dining room wearing shoes – which the guest did, but wearing nothing else! Rather than tackle the issue of dress directly, some hosts hoped that guests would take the hint as to what was appropriate. Hazel at Everdene for example referred disparagingly to *'blokes will appear for dinner in their string vests'* but hoped they would *'realise it's not their sort of hotel and...go somewhere else'*. Terry at Woodley similarly referred to a guest who *'came down with his shirt open. Completely open. And he was a big fat man and he was short'* capturing Terry's various prejudices and values in one sentence! However, sometimes guests themselves put pressure on hosts to 'regulate' a dress code, as Mark at Dalebourne found when people complained about shabby dressers at dinner or topless sunbathers. He admitted he found the former *'very awkward to deal with'* and with the latter *'would simply duck out of it'*.

However other hosts felt 'comfortable' and said it was '*actually quite nice*' when guests said "*I feel like I'm at home*" and would '*come down in their slippers*' (Rebecca at Chinedale). Rebecca took the view that as long as the guest's appearance was not '*upsetting anyone else*' they don't mind, and indeed felt that '*if they are feeling homely the chances are they will come back*' suggesting a commercial consideration as well as the influence of private and social hospitality. So Rebecca implies that she was happy to 'let go' instances when guests had appeared for breakfast in their pyjamas, and even '*one lady came in with her hair in rollers and everything!*' though even Rebecca said she might ask a guest to '*dress a bit more appropriately*' if he appeared with no T-shirt or shoes, so she drew her own boundaries of acceptability. Shirley and Phil at Jaydon similarly didn't mind a group of female guests appearing in pyjamas, saying '*It felt comfortable because we felt they were comfortable with us. That made us feel comfortable*' reflecting the 'contagious' nature of shared emotion. However, they too implied such tolerance was not without boundaries, commenting '*We don't rule with a rod of iron although we do have our limitations*'. Natalie at Royden Court offered a similar example, describing a family where '*she was laid on that settee and the little boy was laying on this settee*' commenting that '*I mean you wouldn't do that if you didn't feel comfortable*'. This shows the heavy influence of private and social domain hospitality, giving rise to some tension between what is 'comfortable' and what is 'socially acceptable'.

Managing guest expectations

A key aspect of the 'regulator' role seemed to be hosts setting and reinforcing boundaries of guest behaviour to 'head off' potentially difficult situations. Heather at Zealands for example recalled a situation that she had anticipated would be problematic but which materialised as quite the opposite – all because of the way the guests had behaved. She took a family of '*big people*' but could only offer them a small room with Z-beds, but was astonished that '*they managed! They managed remarkably...that room every morning...was immaculate*'. Experiences like this suggest that some guests show consideration toward the host, by behaving within the evident boundaries of the hospitality being provided and with sensitivity that the hotel is the host's home. Heather further exemplified this with how older guests behave, that the room is like '*there's nobody there*' with the towels not used, beds stripped and quilt covers '*folded*.' However, sometimes guest expectations breached what hosts considered 'reasonable'. This was exemplified by a situation recalled by Mark, owner of a large hotel Dalebourne. One Christmas, a couple arrived where Mark knew in advance that the woman was vegetarian but did eat fish. However, when they arrived on Christmas Eve she announced that she only ate '*freshwater fish*', but which the hotel nevertheless managed to procure. However, after hotel staff had accommodated this guest for three days in this way, she then announced she would have the chicken that was on the menu. As Mark said '*...you do feel like, you have to take a deep breath*'. He felt that he and his wife were '*cooperative about most things*' but that it '*wasn't right to expect*' what this guest had requested. In a similar vein Hazel at Everdene recalled her annoyance at a guest ringing her bell at six in the morning for a cigarette lighter!

Accommodating guest expectations also sometimes fell foul of a misreading or misunderstanding of cultural difference. This was the case with Phil at Jaydon who was affronted that he and Shirley had taken some overseas guests 'out and about' but that the guests hadn't offered them a contribution. Phil implied that they felt these guests were ungrateful and did not know how to show appreciation, but seemed to give little consideration as to whether or not the guests welcomed their unsolicited hospitality. For Donna at Violet Court, differences in cultural expectation and understanding were manifested in a refrigerated lorry full of pre-packed food arriving just prior to a Jewish

family staying for the weekend. They had asked for a 'little food' to go in the fridge, which translated into a lorry load of food for three people for three days. Donna's view was that this was '*a little bit of a piss-take actually*' but from the guests' perspective, it could have been that this sort of hospitality was not unusual for the family in their experience of 'quasi' home environments. Hosts' roles in clarifying and negotiating boundaries that are acceptable to both parties in the host-guest relationship can thus mean hosts challenging their own values. However, to do so means to challenge assumed 'feeling rules' about what is expected and acceptable behaviour. As Hochschild noted, we need to question '...how different sexes, classes and ethnic and religious groups differ in the sense of what one "ought to" or "has the right to" feel in a situation...how different is the burden of hidden work trying to obey latent laws?... (and) in whose interest are these feeling rules?' (Hochschild, 1979:572-573).

THE 'POLICEMAN'

I interpreted hosts' adoption of a 'policeman' role to include whatever activities they had to undertake to deal with 'difficult' situations. This could mean re-affirming boundaries of expected guest behaviour, not unlike 'patrolling the beat', but could also embrace being an 'enforcer' when this became necessary to deal with situations where guests seriously transgressed established social boundaries. Some hosts saw this role as a challenge to which they readily rose, whilst others found it very difficult to deal with.

Challenging difficult guests

Mary, owner of a large hotel Grasmere, exemplified those hosts who rose to the challenge of dealing with difficult guests. Mary would tell her staff that '*if you have any difficulties, call me. I never mind coming down and talking to the guest*'. She explained how she relished dealing with guests who complain, saying '*I personally treat that as a challenge*', saying that her technique was to '*just stretch them a little bit further than they personally want to be stretched*'. Mary added the caveat that she '*wouldn't be rude to a guest*' but would '*just put them at the bottom of the pile*'. Another approach she adopted was to use her physical presence, that she would '*come down and lurk*' which she argued was '*usually enough*', adding drily that she should have been a school teacher! Physical presence was also employed by Chas at Chesildene to stop guests having parties in the rooms. As he put it '*seeing me at three o'clock in the morning is quite terrifying for young girls!*'

Managing difficult situations could also involve hosts using 'power games' to regain 'the upper hand' in host-guest relations. Rich at Kamarillo for example used his knowledge of a mutual friend to wrong-foot a guest who was complaining, in his view, unjustifiably. The ploy worked, the guest came into line, and congenial social relations were restored, with the guest being '*as nice as pie after that*'. Examples like this suggest that hosts may cope with the challenge of guest complaints by using presentational emotion management to negotiate control of host-guest relations through a Foucauldian interpretation of power sharing. In Rich's case he used the story of the mutual friend to restore 'social order' in the host-guest relationship (Sheringham and Daruwalla, 2007).

However, such an approach might be more problematic in larger hotels where staff act as '*ambassadors*' for their owners, as described by Mary of Grasmere. Mary demonstrated her protectiveness toward her staff through reinforcement of her own values that guests should treat owners and staff alike. As Mary tells her staff, '*people should be talking to you as they would be talking to me*.' Accounts such as Mary's resonate with Allan and Smith's study (2005:30) of matrons 'regulating their own and others' emotions'. Such responses

also reflect Brotheridge and Lee's finding that for managers, 'Besides dealing with their own emotions, managers also have to deal with the emotions and emotional behaviour of others...thus become emotion managers'. Referring to the work of Pescosoldio (2002), Brotheridge and Lee (2008:11) add that managers need to act as role models to show staff how emotions should be handled. Arguably Mary demonstrated this, articulated through her own presentational style of emotion management and her physical presence of 'lurking'.

Mary's account also illustrates how hosts can feel disdain toward guests who cause unnecessary problems, in her comment that *'I wouldn't be rude to a guest. I'd just put them at the bottom of the pile'*. This accords with Bolton's (2002:135) findings that to cope with patients who assumed the role of "customer", nurses sometimes 'gained pleasure from knowing they have subtly shown their disregard for the patient who acts as a "customer"'. A further reading of responses such as Mary's is that in perceiving customer complaints as a '*challenge*' she does not wholly accept the notion of customer sovereignty. Rather, by adopting a negotiated approach she maintained 'control' of the host-guest relationship. As she says, *'Personally I just stretch them a little bit further than they personally want to be stretched'*.

Placating difficult guests

In contrast to hosts like Mary, some, like Jenny owner of another large hotel Farley Court, found 'difficult' guests upsetting. Jenny explained that dealing with awkward customers *'still upsets me, it still upsets me'* even though she has *'been in it since forever'*. To avoid such upsets Jenny's policy is *"Don't have an unpleasant guest"*, so she would rather the guest leave than be *'creating havoc and upsetting other guests and upsetting the staff'*. However she admitted that she felt this approach was limited in that *'you can't force them to leave, if they've made a booking'*, suggesting she feels she has limited control in negotiating such situations.

An interesting comparison can be drawn here with how such situations might be handled in large corporate hotels. Simon, Duty Manager at Durley Dunes, indicated that his emphasis was very much on defusing a guest's anger, empathising with the guest, listening to what he or she has to say, and trying to resolve the issue. He particularly invoked the notion of empowerment which he interpreted to mean that staff should *'just talk to that guest, get to know them'*. He argued that staff *'very much ...feel responsible, they feel as though they want to fix it'*. Simon added that he felt the benefits of such an approach was that *'the good power is when you really turn around and really say "Everybody's here to help you, everybody's here to serve you, so please give us the chance to do that"'*. However, this image conflicts with that of staff having to *'grin and bear it'* when faced with guests who expect servitude, as I have discussed in Theme 2.

The approach used here at Durley Dunes suggests adoption of prescriptive emotion management within the domain of commercial hospitality, but with a sincere attempt to negotiate power in managing the host-guest relationship. However, arguably scope for such negotiations is limited by the boundaries of the commercial context that generally ascribes 'sovereignty' status to the guest. Nonetheless, accounts such as Simon's reflect how managers in commercial hotels seek to reconcile these competing influences through the notion of empowerment (Lashley, 1999, 2001). However, the challenge of implementing this idea for managers such as Simon is reflected in Lashley's point, referring to Heslin, that empowerment is *'...supposed to produce a psychological state. Empowerment by definition needs people to feel empowered'*. Lashley (2001: 21) further explains what he feels this means for staff (that is hosts) in terms of emotion work. He

argues 'Without feeling empowered, employees or managers who are the subjects of empowerment have not been empowered, and it is useful to better understand the feelings of empowerment and the circumstances that generate them'. Hence arguably the real challenge in employing empowerment to 'placate' difficult guests is the extent to which hosts themselves can engage in appropriate emotion management to achieve this.

Using humour

Dealing with difficult situations could be eased by the use of humour. Phil at Jaydon for example used humour to diffuse the potential for tension between groups of male guests, for example when *'one looks at the other one a bit funny and then they're fighting'*. Mike at Pebble Beach too contended that he would *'deal with most things with a smile on my face'*, and particularly with rude guests he could be *'very sarcastic'* but is still *'professional'*. In a similar vein Mike argued that being *'laid back'* had helped him deal with some rude elderly guests who swear and mumble and grumble within his hearing. Mike felt that were he not so laid back they would cause him more *'distress'* than they do. Chas at Chesildene also contended that it is important to *'see the humour'* to handle difficult situations, arguing that as a guest house *'it's all about allowing people their own household enjoyment'* but that *'what you've got to try and do is see where there's humour in it'*, that *'the more you feel positive about the fact that people are enjoying themselves the easier it is'*. Chas exemplified this with a story of a bridegroom who ended up in a police cell on his stag night, together with a key to the hotel. The stag's friends meanwhile, bereft of key, tried to break into a neighbouring hotel. The neighbour complained to Chas the next morning, so Chas responded by encouraging the lads to apologise to avoid the police being called in. As Chas explained, it did not cause *'any particular stress to us'* laughing as he recalled the outcome *'Ending up in a police cell!!! Classic, absolutely classic!'*

Challenging transgressions to boundaries

However, guests do inevitably 'transgress' established boundaries of behaviour when they 'choose to step over the boundaries' (Guerrier and Adib, 2000: 266) and such transgression can prove challenging to hosts. As Chas at Chesildene observed it's *'one of the worst aspects of the job having to tell guests'* when they misbehave. Some hosts found guest behaviour offensive. Hazel at Everdene for example explained how she found lesbian guests *'embarrassing'* when they were *'a bit touchy'*, so she *'wouldn't hesitate to tell them'*. Similarly she spoke to some guests who were *'awful... eff and blind to each other. It was horrible'*. Heather at Zealands took a similarly firm and direct approach with a male guest who presented her with a bag of personal washing saying *'Could you do this for me Heather?'* She recalled *'... he needed a bit of putting in his place... given an inch he would have taken a yard'*. These examples illustrate how hosts may need to renegotiate boundaries of 'acceptable' guest behaviour. Similar challenges could arise regarding the behaviour of parents with babies and children. As Heather recalled, some *'were no bother'* whilst others *'wanted some spaghetti warmed up'* when Hazel was *'doing evening meals for everybody else'*. This caused husband Ken to exclaim *'Oh for God's sake, got a week of this!'* Heather observed that they were then *'fine'* having *'got the vibes that I wasn't happy about that'*, which illustrates the power of interpersonal emotion.

Yet other hosts had to deal with transgressions that also involved dealing with 'the unknown'. Hazel at Everdene for example had a group of girl guests who invited boys back to their room, and the boys *'had the cheek to come down for breakfast'*. She asked them to pay, which they didn't, but she drew some satisfaction from feeling that *'I don't think they enjoyed their second day because they were worried about giving me the*

money'. Donna at Violet Court was similarly indignant about a guest who brought a prostitute back to the room, arguing *'I don't want someone in that I haven't met...it is a cheek. If they pay for a double room and they bring someone back I don't have a problem with it, I don't care what they do, what people do in their room when the door's shut...But I do think it's a bit unfair when men do that...pick someone from the streets. You've no idea what they're here for'*.

However, whilst in most cases hosts dealt with transgressions through firm but direct rebuttals of guest misdemeanours, one host adopted the stance of confronting guests in a similar manner to how they behaved towards her. In doing so she seemed to eschew any attention to notions of customer sovereignty. Celia at Brightsea recalled an encounter with a group of students where the 'ringleader' said of the food *'I ain't eating that shit'* which the rest of the table supported with *'Yeah, yeah yeah!'* So Celia dealt with this by being very 'nice' to the other table, serving them second helpings and so forth, and then finally came to this one girl and retorted *'Oh dear, shit was it dear? Never mind, you'll have to go and get your own now then'*. However, though Celia 'won' this battle, she admitted that the girl *'sort of had it in for me and got them all grouping up then'*. Celia exhibited a similar 'no nonsense' approach to dealing with unacceptable behaviour from party guests. She exemplified that when they arrive *'I'm very polite to them...I'm like a lamb "Oh good evening gentleman, hope you enjoy yourselves"'* (said in a sickly sweet manner), but that when they appear and say *'Oh, this come off in me 'and' (said in a yobbish accent)* she would reply that *'Nothing comes off in your fucking hand!'* describing herself as behaving like 'Jekyll and Hyde' to protect the standards of her hotel.

Evicting rude guests

Inevitably, as 'policemen,' hosts sometimes had no option but to act as an 'enforcer' and evict guests whose behaviour was inappropriate. Mike at Pebble Beach for example explained that if people *'flout rules and regulations'* or are *'rude and obnoxious'* it would make him *'unhappy'*. He explained he would firstly *'be polite and...ask them to stop it'* but would otherwise say *'I'm sorry you're not welcome. So please leave'*. Shirley at Jaydon took similar action when groups of lads tried to have girls in their rooms. She thought *"We're not having that"...it just made us cross, it was disrespectful'*, so they were asked to leave. Marion at Newmount also took this line when guests upset her staff, arguing that the staff would *'never be rude to a guest'*. One guest for example was *'cursing and swearing at the receptionist. And...reduced her to tears...really distressed'*. For Marion this was disrespectful and he was asked to leave.

The 'criminal' quest

Also inevitably, another dimension to hosts' 'policing' role was to sometimes deal with fraudulent behaviour. Rebecca at Chinedale for example now insisted on down payments on arrival having been previously caught out by dishonest guests. The worst example that led to this policy was a *'perfectly nice family'* who bounced their cheque, which Rebecca got in the end but didn't want *'all the extra hassle'*. Hence she explained, *'Everybody's tarnished with the same brush'* which she said is *'not a nice thing to have to do'*. In a similar vein, an incident recalled by Mark, owner of a large family hotel Dalebourne, was the sort of thing that led to his decision to sell the hotel. A guest complained that there was glass in his food but when invited to make a statement to the environmental health officials, *'never came back again'* convincing Mark that the glass had been planted to get some form of compensation.

Who polices can be important...

In some hotels it seemed that certain hosts were nominated to deal with 'difficult' situations, the decision being based on personal preference, personality and/or relevant experience. Hazel at Everdene for example contended that her husband would make her deal with such situations since he always liked to appear '*nice to them*' (the guests). In contrast, Rich at Kamarillo suggested that his partner Pete usually dealt with difficulties because he is '*professional*', and is used to '*dealing with people all the time*', so that in Rich's view Pete would carry out this role better than him. So here it seemed that a mix of appropriate experience and personality combined to shape the allocation of particular roles to host partners. Gender could also be contributory, as Shirley at Jaydon noted, her husband Phil would tell guests when to stop misbehaving '*because...he's quite a big man, and he can, he will tell them in no uncertain terms*'.

PERFORMING THE ROLE - 'BEING NATURAL'

Identifying with the role

I found that some hosts felt that the way they behaved in their roles was 'natural', that '*it's just our nature...it just happens...we just do it*' (Judy at Eastleigh), a sentiment echoed by Natalie and Max at Royden Court and Pam at Solent House. As Pam explained '*we do make a huge effort but without it seeming like an effort*'. For some, past work experiences shaped that approach. Natalie at Royden Court for example found it '*just natural*' to interact with guests as she had done this in her previous job as a hairdresser, whilst Donna at Violet Court contrasted being an hotelier with her previous job in which she '*did have an act*', but is now '*more comfortable with me*' in her role as host, arguing that '*here I don't change for anybody*'.

These accounts suggest that the emotion work these hosts need to expend for the 'effort' required aligns with their sense of 'self' and their identification with the role, showing how alignment between work and identity can influence role performance (Noon and Blyton, 2007). It could be inferred from these accounts that these hosts consequently experience 'emotional harmony' which Mann (1999) argues is possible where people feel the emotions required of them. However, as Noon and Blyton contend, even people who identify with their job can have their off-days when they might have to manage their emotions to hide their true feelings (Noon and Blyton, 2007). Hence it might be expected that even Donna and Natalie have to 'act' at times, which in fact they admitted to me they did.

Being oneself

Phil at Jaydon was an example of a host who was 'himself', openly conveying his feelings to guests, whether these caused offence or bonhomie. For example, he took exception to a guest who was '*lounging around*' in the dining room. However, he didn't just dislike the guest's behaviour. Phil admitted '*Just didn't like him, didn't like him...he was a right smarmy git*'. Phil's response to the guest was undisguised dislike, '*nudging*' him as he went by and '*rattling the cups and saucers*'. By his own admission, Phil described this encounter as one of his '*Basil moments*'. Comparing himself to Basil Fawlty, he said he didn't like the guest who his wife Shirley '*loved...to bits*', adding '*just like Sybil does!*' However, Phil also revealed that he would equally show his feelings toward guests that he *did* like. He recalled one encounter with a guest he found particularly '*interesting*' because '*we had a common denominator*'.

Behaviours such as Phil's suggest that some hosts can find it difficult to cope with their personal feelings and may make no attempt to 'hide' them, whether the feelings are 'positive' or 'negative'. This suggests hosts making no attempt to engage in an 'act' but behaving as 'themselves' (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993, Noon and Blyton, 2007). These responses could suggest purposive emotion management, where the host wants to 'be himself', or could reflect the difficulty hosts experience in managing their own emotions, or indeed might be a combination of the two. It is interesting to compare how these host behaviours suggest hosts being able to choose *not* to 'act' in any way to disguise how they feel, reflecting the autonomy they enjoy as hotel owners. However, as implied here, there is also the potential for such autonomy to result in 'Basil Fawlty' behaviours. Hosts behaving as 'themselves' could also elicit a sense of respect from guests. This was captured beautifully in Phil's recollection of how a group of lads responded when Shirley said 'Don't forget...' and before she could say any more, they responded 'Yeah, treat it like our own'. And they did.

A mixed approach

Reaffirming that he was not interested in developing 'relationships' with guests, Chas at Chesildene contended that in his daily interactions with them he does not put on an 'act', arguing that *'the only reason why we'll smile or be happy is because we are smiling or are happy'*. In contrast, his wife Gail to some extent aligned with the view that a host's performance is 'fragile and precarious', necessitating 'careful and continual impression management' (Darke and Gurney, 2000:83). Similarly, Natalie and Max admitted that, though they argued that they behaved 'naturally' toward guests, that they do think to themselves *'...these are our new guests and we want to make a really good impression so they come back'*. Hence the picture presented by Gail, Natalie and Max suggests a mix of 'being themselves' with some 'impression management' (Goffman, 1959). This implies a tension between presentational emotion management, bordering on a prescriptive approach, with their allusion to wanting to convey a certain 'image' or 'impression'.

PERFORMING THE ROLE - 'DOING AN ACT'

The 'ease' of 'acting'

In contrast to 'being natural' some hosts readily admitted they used 'acts' to interact with their guests. Celia at Brightsea for example admitted adopting different accents as *'part of the act I guess'*, but only claimed to do this deliberately if she was *'mucking around'*, that otherwise *'sometimes I really do not now when I'm lapsing into it'*. This account suggests that mimicry can be *'part of the act'* a host adopts but that perhaps the 'act' itself can become *'natural'*, exemplified by Celia's suggestion that she doesn't know she's *'lapsing into it'*. This reading of the host's behaviour accords with the notion that deep acting can become so natural that it requires 'no acting' (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993), though the notion of 'no acting' is itself contestable. Judy at Eastleigh was more candid. She admitted that it can be difficult to interact with guests at times, implying that the emotion work needed can be 'hard' work in such situations, that at times there was a need to 'act' and *'turn it on'* (Fineman, 2003: 20). However, as with Celia's experience of *'lapsing into'* an act, Judy at Eastleigh similarly suggested that although they *'do turn it on when it's necessary'*, that this is *'second nature'*. So here again there seems to be a close alignment between deep acting and being 'natural'.

A 'deliberate' act

Marion at Newmount was adamant in her insistence that she never feels that she *'can't be bothered taking to people'* but explained that she does take steps to prepare herself to be in the right 'mood' to engage with her guests. Hence she seems to suggest that she deliberately uses deep acting in order to *feel like 'being nice to people and being welcoming'* so that even if she's *'in a bit of a mood'* beforehand, this is *'never'* conveyed to the guest. This further implies that she needs to invest in emotion work to achieve the required 'act'. Routines such as Marion's are not unlike the *'transition rituals, boundary markers and psychological preparation'* that Ashforth *et al* (2008) identified were employed by US service agents to cope with interrole blurring between front-of-house and back-of-house roles.

Max at Royden Court suggested he adopted a similar approach, to *'never show that it's getting to us'* exemplifying that *'I may look terrible because of lack of sleep but I'll still smile'*. Similarly Derek at Quivern openly admitted to sometimes 'feigning' interest in his guests. He said candidly *'there's times people talk to me I really have no interest in what they've got to say at all but I have to make out I'm interested, obviously. I can't just get up and walk out'*. These displays of emotion management seem to reflect a prescriptive role profile where the aim is to present a 'professional' demeanour (Bolton, 2005a). Hence professional feeling rules underlie hosts' behaviours in these examples. Also consistent with this role, the host's motivation is somewhat instrumental, to keep guests 'happy' by not letting their own feelings surface in their emotional performances. Hosts thus typically present a mix of a 'professional' self and 'personal' self, with Derek more aligned to the former and Marion employing a mix of the two. This is reflected in Derek's rather more cynical performance (by his own admission), compared with Marion and Max's attempts to be sincere by hiding any negative feelings. These behaviours are also illustrative of attempts to engage in deep acting with the hosts trying to feel the emotions they think they ought to display.

Developing a 'natural' act

Through her honest appraisal of what is involved in host-guest interactions Mary at Grasmere explained how 'acts' can be developed to become 'natural' performances. She observed *'Well, life is an act, isn't it?'* explaining that she tells her staff that the hotel reception area is their 'stage'. She argued that for staff who are not naturally friendly people they can learn to 'be friendly', so that *'It starts off perhaps by acting and it becomes natural'*. Mary's sentiments here align with Simpson and Carroll's (2008:31) contention that 'role' should be re-theorized as dynamic, to support the notion of shifting identity construction.

To this end, Mary tells her staff *'a lot of people walk through our doors are terrified and they are probably more scared than you are. And you have got to make them feel at home and you have got to make them feel as if you are the first person they want to see and the last person they want to see, so it's the first impression and the last impression'*. Mary is particularly concerned to give this advice to *'young receptionists who perhaps come to me at 16 or so and they're very reticent and they actually give the impression of being unfriendly'*. However, Mary argues that this is not the case, that *'it's lack of confidence'*. A reading of Mary's approach is that she encourages staff to engage in presentational emotion management by suggesting they are 'naturally' friendly toward guests, to convey a sincere feeling of welcoming them. However, it could also be argued that her advice to some extent overlaps with prescriptive emotion management, manifested through Mary's clear guidance as to how to engage with staff, which implies organisational feeling rules to

guide host-guest interactions. Thus Mary's approach to fashioning the host-guest relationship seems influenced by both social and commercial domains of hospitality. Her account is also a good illustration of how emotion between host and guest can be socially constructed through the 'signals' that each 'gives off', although psychodynamic influences also appear evident in Mary's account, for example that young staff may appear *'very reticent'* and *'give the impression of being unfriendly'* but that this likely to be due to *'lack of confidence'*, which could imply inner feelings of uncertainty as to how to engage in such social interactions. Thus Mary's account endorses the value of explaining emotional expression from both intrapsychic and interpersonal perspectives (Parkinson, 1995). Her use of the 'stage' metaphor is also illuminating. As a dramaturgical analogy it resonates with Goffman's depictions of social interactions in everyday life, where he identified the 'social patterns in emotive expression' (Goffman, 1979:555), and argued that social actors respond to 'signals' of expression that each 'gives off' to shape the nature of ensuing interactions. The 'role' each 'actor' plays depends on the setting (the stage) and the audience (the 'other'). So for Mary's staff for example, guests can be thought of as the audience for whom the staff as hosts give emotion management performances.

INFLUENCES ON HOST PERFORMANCES

Whether hosts portray 'themselves' or whether they need to 'act' in their interactions with guests, their roles can vary in terms of the work they demand. Some guests can be more difficult than others and some situations more challenging than others. My study revealed that characteristics of both guest and host can influence hosts' execution of these roles.

The guest

For some hosts, a key challenge they seemed to face regarding interactions with guests seemed to lay in the guest's disposition, for example how 'chatty' or 'forthcoming' he or she was. This appeared to be a key issue for Rebecca at Chinedale for example, who seemed resigned to the fact that *'certain characters ...want to sit there but they don't say a lot'*. She admitted that this could be *'hard work if someone's not very forthcoming'*. However, for Max at Royden Court the issue seemed to be more about the amount of time he could spend with guests, rather than whether or not they were 'chatty' characters. He explained that *'being close to people, you tend to know them because you spend more time with them'* so for example *'when the older people have dinner you tend to be a bit more thorough with them'*. He compared this with just 'catching' people who are only staying for bed and breakfast. Max thus seemed to imply that he made it his business to try to 'have relationships' with his guests. Rebecca too seemed to imply a similar underlying motive, and clearly felt that the 'quiet' guest could be 'hard work'.

These accounts reflect how clients can affect the 'performance' of hosts as emotion managers. This phenomenon was evident in Lively's (2002) study of paralegals which found that the client's own emotional state increased the emotion work that paralegals had to expend, in the form of emotional labour. Lively reported *'...a good deal of the emotional labor required of consumer-oriented paralegals is to truncate their own emotional responses to the clients' emotional crises so that they can gain control of the situation'*. Whilst Rebecca and Max did not face 'emotional crises' as such and did not have to deal with the demands of emotional labour, they did nonetheless allude to needing to expend more emotion work to cope with some client dispositions and moods.

Host experience, aptitude and personality

For other hosts, their own lack of experience or lack of aptitude toward an interactive role could be challenging. This was the case for Ken at Zealands whose wife Heather described him as '*a quiet man...quite a shy man*' who was initially '*worried*' about his role. However, as Heather explained, Ken's front-of house role had '*done him the world of good*' so that he is now '*very confident...he's blossomed...because it's his place and he's the boss, it's took him up a rung, you know*'. She added the resounding endorsement that '*the old ladies love him, they love him to bits*'. This example of how managing the host-guest relationship had a positive effect on the host (in this case Ken), mirrors the benefits of emotional labour. As Morris and Feldman (1996:1001) report, Ashforth and Humphrey suggest that emotional labour '*...may make interactions more predictable and help workers to avoid embarrassing interpersonal problems*' and '*This understanding in turn should help reduce stress and increase satisfaction*'. Although emotional labour aligns more with Bolton's pecuniary emotion manager role, in contrast to Ken's adoption of a presentational approach, the parallel can nevertheless be drawn between the two.

Ken's experience can also be seen as echoing Ritzer's (2004: 92) argument that 'scripting', in the context of emotional labour, can help emotion managers by 'being able to refer to the script to avoid unreasonable demands'. Ken may not be consciously follow 'a script' but may nevertheless draw on his evolving repertoire of 'experiences' to develop his ability to engage with his guests. This is not unlike the notion of Method Acting (after Stanislavski) where the emotion manager draws on emotion memories to 'train' him- or herself to recall feelings from earlier experiences to make those feelings 'seem real now' (Hochschild, 1983:42). Hence a reading of Ken's emergent emotion manager role could be that he is learning to engage in deep acting to portray genuine emotional performances, which in turn are benefiting him by giving him confidence to deal with each new situation. His social and personal identity as '*the boss*' could also be seen as contributing in this case, echoed by Heather's point that this has '*helped*'.

Max at Royden Court similarly admitted he was '*learning to talk to huge numbers of people*' and interestingly also used a dramaturgical analogy to explain how he feels, that '*It's like stage fright really. You get nervous but then it's OK*'. This example illustrates how personality can also influence the 'performance' of hosts as emotion managers, Max describing himself as '*more of a one to one*'. Like Mary of Grasmere, Max also uses the metaphor of 'the stage' to explain how he manages encounters with guests. He implies here that he 'manages' his inner feelings of fear through social interactions between himself and the guests, where guests take on the role of the 'audience'. A wider reading of such experiences suggest a mix of psychodynamic and social constructionist influences on emotion management. This interpretation reflects Hochschild's contention that the idea of the 'self as emotion manager' borrows from Goffmanian and Freudian thinking' but 'squares completely with neither'. She argues that Goffman focuses on 'how people try to appear to feel' and Freud is concerned with 'how people feel unconsciously', whereas she contends that 'the emotion management perspective fosters attention to how people try to feel' (Hochschild, 1979:555 and 559).

Other hosts made more direct reference to how their own personalities challenged their roles as hoteliers. Sandra at Maple Lodge for example explained how she and her husband found interacting difficult at first because they are '*very shy people*' but that it became '*easier...the more you do it*'. Yet other hoteliers found differences in personality between themselves and their partners. Marion at Newmount and Donna at Violet Court for example both commented that their partners were less outgoing than themselves. Marion explained that her partner was '*less garrulous*' than herself, but would enter into

conversation *'if he happens to be there'*, and Donna explained that her partner Pete is *'extremely shy'* so much so that he sometimes *'won't bother'* to make conversation.

Host availability – front-of-house and back-of-house

Another influence on hosts' execution of their roles seemed to be how they managed their 'availability' to the guests. Some handled this by organising the public space such as the reception area so that guests could 'ring for assistance' which enabled the host to get on with other things. When the host did have to locate himself in this space, he might use various ploys to effect an escape if guests insisted on making conversation at 'inappropriate' times. Jon at Ainsley for example admitted he would sometimes *'go on the mobile and ring the phone and say "Oh, excuse me, I must get that"'*. Yet others found they had to physically side-step 'bumping into' certain guests, particularly if it meant 'getting caught' when they are trying to cook the evening meal for instance. However, 'managing' these boundaries also seemed to depend on the host's personality, and this in turn could shape how comfortable they felt with front-of-house roles. As Hazel at Everdene commented *'Ricky can chat to somebody and walk off mid conversation and carry on serving at the next table. I'd find that difficult'*. Similarly, Max at Royden Court indicated *'it can be difficult to break away...and I try to give everyone the same time'*. However, as Rebecca at Chinedale noted, her husband *'does feel more comfortable with that, he's very outgoing, very chatty and things'* whereas she described herself as *'very happy to be out of sight and just getting on with the background stuff'*. Hazel and Rich concurred that their partners too were more comfortable *'chatting to people'* whilst as Hazel put it *'I get away without seeing people all week'*. Yet others used a physical boundary between themselves and the guest. When Phil at Jaydon had a guest who *'wants to talk'* all the time, he and Shirley *'just close the door'*. Shirley admitted that *'sometimes it's nice to shut yourself away... You shut the business out as such. And sometimes you need to shut the business out'*.

These examples resonate with how emotional labourers 'cope' with the demands of emotion management performances. For example Pete's professional stance could align with a prescriptive emotion manager role. However, a further reading of hosts' perspectives here also reveals how some do not welcome the 'hard' emotion work needed to deal with such 'difficult' scenarios, for example Ricky, who is *'always nice'* to the guests. These accounts also highlight the tensions that can arise in the host-guest relationship with the variation in work demands across front-of-house and back-of-house domains. This reflects findings from a study of US service agents that examined how the agents coped with front-of-stage and backstage roles (Ashforth *et al*, 2008). The findings suggested that the agents used 'transition rituals, boundary markers and psychological preparation' to move between roles and tried to minimise interrole blurring by being 'very aware' of being 'on stage' and using the backstage 'as a respite from stress'. Arguably, the potential for stress could be heightened for hosts such as Judy and Max who have nurtured a relational approach to the host-guest relationship (Selwyn, 2000), with the possible consequence that guests do not fully appreciate the 'boundaries' of 'space' between host and guest, and also may not understand the full extent of the host's role.

SUMMARISING HOSTS' ROLES

Hosts of small hotels adopt a range of roles to manage the host-guest relationship. Sometimes these are conferred by hosts themselves but at other times are 'imposed' by the need for hosts to 'manage' guest behaviour. The necessity for the 'imposed' roles creates emotional demands on hosts to expend whatever emotion work is needed to perform the particular role, with the extent of emotion work being dependent on individual

hosts' capability to align with that role. This study revealed a typology of five host roles, two of which appear to be adopted by choice – the 'professional' and the 'facilitator' – and three by circumstance – the 'carer', the 'regulator' and the 'policeman'. For all these, presentational emotion management predominates, but with prescriptive and philanthropic elements evident in the professional and carer roles respectively. Further, the roles can be executed through a range of performance strategies, from being 'natural' to donning a selection of 'masks' to execute particular 'acts'. Between these extremes of 'no acting' and surface acting, a variety of combinations of natural and acting approaches can be employed.

The two roles hosts chose to adopt were 'professional', variously interpreted as 'doing things properly' and involving prescriptive and presentational emotion management, and 'facilitator', manifested through presentational emotion management and including a range of approaches such as hospitableness and hosting, but characterised primarily by 'friendliness'. Hosts' ability to 'read' guests' needs and respond as flexible skilled emotion managers seemed important here. The roles that were imposed by the circumstance of guest behaviour were 'carer', 'regulator' and 'policeman'. The 'carer' role involved showing concern for guests' welfare and safety, as an intrinsic element of being an hotelier, but could also be manifested through surrogate familial roles. The two other roles imposed on hosts – 'regulator' and 'policeman' – were necessary to meet the challenge of establishing and maintaining boundaries of acceptable guest behaviour. Both involved presentational emotion management to assure the stability and security of the host and his or her hotel, in the face of transgressions of these social boundaries. The need for 'regulation' derives from the fragility of the negotiated nature of the host-guest relationship (Sheringham and Daruwalla, 2007:33) and involved regulatory techniques such as 'the speech', cultural management and dress codes. Emergence of a 'policeman' role was also indicative of the fragile nature of the host-guest relationship, where guests will inevitably sometimes 'cross the line', either intentionally or unwittingly with transgressions arising from guests behaving as 'vandals' or 'rule breakers' for example. Hence as 'policemen', hosts may need to 'patrol the beat' or 'enforce the law', generally by employing presentational emotion management, although the emotion work required can vary according to the individual disposition of the host.

To perform any one or more of these five roles, hosts engaged in anything from 'no acting' to a 'deliberate act' or a mix of the two. 'No acting' for example might occur when hosts identify with the work, so that although effort might be needed, it will not seem like an effort. In contrast, a 'deliberate act' may be performed where hosts consciously recognise they need to engage with guests but do not fully identify with the role. Deep acting may be used to 'get into the right mood', or hosts may consciously feign interest in their conversations with guests. However, as Mary explained, an 'act' can *become* natural, mirroring the notion advanced by Simpson and Carroll (2008:33) of role as a dynamic phenomenon changing to support shifts in identity construction. This fluidity between 'acting' and 'being 'natural' is exemplified by hosts who admit to acting but contend it is 'easy' and 'natural', that they 'lapse into it,' and conversely, by those who describe their interactions as primarily 'natural' but who also recognise that they do engage in impression management to nurture the host-guest relationship. Within these possibilities of the 'natural/act' hybrid, the shy or inexperienced host can *learn* to 'act' through Method Acting, with hosts that do so describing the learning experience as being 'on stage' and feeling 'nervous' with 'stage fright'. Hosts' use of these dramaturgical metaphors resonate with Goffman's interpretations of social interaction. However, since personality and experience also influence how hosts respond to the performance demands placed upon them, the complexity of their experiences is better captured by Hochschild's (1979:555)

point that the self as emotion manager borrows from Goffman and Freud but 'squares with neither'.

'DIRTY WORK' AND 'RISKY WORK'

The fourth theme I have identified as being a significant issue for hosts of small hotels is dealing with 'unsavoury' aspects of the business, such as managing 'dirty work', and handling the unpredictability of the 'unknown' in terms of unanticipated or dangerous guest behaviour that can constitute 'risky work'.

THE NATURE OF DIRTY WORK

Dirty work and hospitality work

The association of dirty work with hospitality work comes as no surprise since as Guerrier and Adib (2000: 261) note, it is a characteristic that distinguishes hospitality work from other service work, involving as it does dealing with guests' 'intimate bodily functions'. In this sense, hospitality work also to a large extent reflects 'housework' which as Oakley reminds us includes cleaning, cooking and laundering (Oakley, 1974). Hence hosts of small hotels have to face the inevitability of some degree of 'dirty work' as integral to running a hotel. In doing so they may need to confront the intrinsic nature of the dirty work itself which can evoke strong emotions such as disgust, nausea and revulsion. They may also be concerned about how such work is perceived in wider society and may have to deal with how this affects their perceptions of themselves. Kreiner, Ashforth and Sluss (2006) emphasise the challenge of dirty work. Citing Hughes they explain it as 'occupations and tasks...that are widely perceived as degrading, disgusting, or demeaning to the individuals and groups performing them.' They add that people in such occupations might cope with this work by either identifying with the occupation or dissociating themselves from it.

Nurses in Bolton's study of gynaecological nurses for example 'reframed' their work to declare it 'special', requiring distinctive knowledge and skills, even though the 'tainted' nature of gynaecological nursing gives it the social distinction of 'dirty work'. As Bolton (2005b: 169) reports, the nurses 'celebrate their status as women carrying out "dirty work" through using "ceremonial work" that continually re-affirms their "womanly" qualities'. However it is hard to envisage small hoteliers similarly 'celebrating' cleaning up guests' mess, though they can nonetheless demonstrate a sense of pride in doing the housework necessary to present their hotel to the standard they want.

Adopting this approach could lead to hosts putting pressure on themselves to maintain the standard of presentation they desire, which in turn might mean doing housework, including 'dirty work', to achieve that standard. As Oakley comments (1974) being 'house-proud' can bring with it feelings of guilt, worry, misery, anxiety and depression, where the 'homeowners' continually evaluate their own performance against the standards they set themselves. These standards can in turn derive from hosts' own values about what standard they perceive is acceptable but can also derive from what they feel guests expect. As Darke and Gurney (2000:83) observe, hosts may feel that guests can 'potentially threaten to expose the host's incompetence at presenting home and self' which can lead the host to engage in skilful constructed 'performances' that necessitate 'careful and continual impression management'. Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark and Fugate (2007:150) further observe that people engaged in such work face the issue of the 'taint of dirty work' which can affect their sense of self in the role they are performing. Arguably

this could apply to hosts of small hotels if they feel that dealing with 'dirty work' somehow reflects on themselves.

'Dirty work' in the small hotel

Examples of dirty work hosts faced included the consequences of various aspects of guest behaviour. Some of these arguably reflected guests' lifestyles, standards of personal hygiene, and socio-medical conditions such as alcoholism. However dirty work also arose as a result of guests' deliberate abuse of hotel facilities. My findings reflect observations by Guerrier and Adib (2000) that hosts may find themselves dealing with 'dirty work' that involves confronting the intimacies and personal habits of the guest. This can mean anything from finding evidence of behaviours hosts find distasteful, such as finding condoms lying around, to having to 'police' guest behaviour resulting from guests' engagement in activities they may not necessarily do at home such as drug-taking or alcohol consumption. Hosts face the dilemma of ignoring, disallowing or facilitating such activities. These challenges have been discussed to some extent in Theme 3, regarding host roles of 'policing' and 'regulating' guest behaviours. However, the challenge of dirty work exemplifies the dilemma hosts face in needing to adopt different roles, demanding different 'masks'. So for example they may want to help guests to 'have fun', but seek to avoid having to 'clear up' the consequences of that enjoyment. This point was evident in Guerrier and Adib's (2003:1399) study of holiday reps that exposed 'the paradoxes of delivering emotional labour in a job where the boundaries between work and leisure are blurred, and which is both explicitly about delivering fun and also about the "dirty work" of managing holidaymakers' complaints and excesses', so that 'The work task of the tour rep may be varied, but the rep will have failed if he or she does not seem to be having fun and helping the holidaymaker to have fun'.

Hosts cite several examples of 'dirty work' resulting from guests' lifestyles and personal hygiene. Celia at Brightsea for example conveyed her feelings about doing laundry for asylum seeker guests saying '*I'd hold out the black bag with my nose in the opposite direction*'. To emphasise the problem, she added that when they left she had to '*strip the rooms*', that '*It's impregnated in the walls, the smell...you literally had to throw everything away...to get rid of the smell*'. In another example, Donna at Violet Court recalled having to deal with an alcoholic who had '*tried to clean himself with our towels which he put in the laundry bin*'. Donna described cleaning this room as a '*real heave job*' in which the '*smell*' was unbelievable. However, dealing with socio-medical issues could also present other challenges as Hazel at Everdene found. She was more concerned about the effect on other guests when a couple stayed one of whom had a colostomy bag. Hazel was worried that other guests would react to the smell, not of the condition, but of the disinfectant the couple used. As she put it '*they overuse the disinfectant,*' so that particularly on warm summer evenings it was noticeable when they were around. Hazel acknowledged '*nobody's said anything*' but her concern remained nonetheless.

Not unlike Celia's experience with the asylum seekers, another situation Donna had to deal with was cleaning up after an elderly lady described to her as a 'country bumpkin'. The lady was incontinent, so all the bed linen had to be washed every day. Additionally the guest had put her '*tena lady ...hanging over the radiator to dry out!*' Donna laughed as she recalled this, despite the fact she also remembered it as '*absolutely disgusting*'. Explaining that this was how the guest lived at home, Donna admitted '*That was a pretty difficult week. A very stressful week that was*'. So bad was the smell in this case that Donna had to get husband Paul to open the windows before she could go into the room, the smell making her heave. A third case she encountered was deliberate abuse of the hotel facilities by a guest whom Donna had felt uneasy about. She recalled how he'd

'wee'd in the shower, in the toilet brush holder, he'd wee'd in the sink', so Donna had to tackle the overflowing bathroom 'with a big rubber glove up to my shoulder!' The emotions Donna implied in recalling these experiences mirror the frustrations expressed by a nurse in Bolton's study of gynaecology nurses (2008:23), that 'If I have to clean up any more "p***" and "s***" today, I'm going to shoot myself'. Thus as Ashforth *et al* (2007: 150) argue, such situations present the dilemma of the '*taint of dirty work*', with hosts maybe needing to engage in considerable emotion work to deal with emotions such as 'disgust' that such encounters are likely to evoke.

Hosts also reported how some guests were just 'messy', which might reflect how they lived at home, but could also be because they treat hotels as somewhere where they can behave 'as they like', having 'paid for it' (Lashley, 2000). The effect that this sort of behaviour could have on hoteliers was illustrated by Shirley and Phil at Jaydon who compared how two groups of girls left their rooms, one being '*absolutely pristine*' whilst the other was '*like a bloody demolition site*'. This made them '*feel a little bit dejected, I feel a little bit dejected. When...it's absolutely rotten*'. Shirley also gave another example where someone had shredded the soap, explaining that '*Some people believe they rent the room and they think it's theirs*'. Donna at Violet Court echoed this sentiment that '*a few people...come to hotels and ...have no respect whatsoever*' adding that '*that's maybe how they live*' so '*they will leave it how they've left their home*'. Such situations present a dilemma for hosts such as Donna whose own standard is for rooms to be clean and tidy. She had learnt to leave 'messy' rooms as they are, if that's what guests want, but admitted she didn't feel '*totally comfortable*' doing this and found it '*quite amazing*' that guests never say anything.

DEALING WITH DIRTY WORK

Hosts in my study seemed to deal with 'dirty work,' or the threat of it, by one or more of the following three ways; accepting it and taking no action, dealing with it directly, and/ or taking steps to avoid it happening. I will explore each of these strategies in turn.

Accepting dirty work – taking no action

Faced with having to 'clear up' the 'mess' created by guests, hosts may take no action but question their personal and social identities with regard to having to engage in such dirty work, where, as Alvesson *et al* (2008:10) argue, these identities can overlap. Heather at Zealands captured this in recalling guests who allowed their daughter to draw on a quilt. They treated this as a joke and made no offer to pay for the ruined quilt. Heather said she felt that '*I could have cried*' and asked herself "*Gosh, what do they think I am?*" Heather's response suggests that she reflected both on how she perceived herself as a host and how guests perceived her. It could also be argued that maybe underling her sense of unease is the possibility of being associated with the 'taint of dirty work, which as Ashforth *et al* (2007:150) contend can impact on one's sense of self.

Other hosts similarly took no action against guests who created dirty work but could nonetheless feel annoyed when hotel facilities were damaged or 'messed up'. The emotions evoked by such incidents can perhaps be explained by hosts' sense of attachment to the hotel facilities, which also constitute their home, since as Lynch (2005b: 41) notes, hosts' perceptions of the latter can shape their interactions with guests. Donna at Violet Court exemplified this view, saying that although she still gets '*annoyed*' at messy behaviour, as she considers this '*disrespectful*', she doesn't take it personally now, being able to '*detach*' herself from it and accept that '*the business can carry it*'. This response also suggests Donna can 'distance' herself from the dirty work, as suggested by Kreiner *et*

al (2006). However, hosts' annoyance at guests creating dirty work can also be considered to emanate from the sense of pride they feel in presenting their hotels to 'an admiring audience' (Darke and Gurney, 2000:80) and to a standard set by themselves (Oakley, 1974:106). Donna is again an example here, saying that she takes '*great pride*' in the rooms. However, for Mike and Ruby the response to such violations tended to be more one of annoyance, though as Ruby commented, although she would '*tend to lose it*' she '*wouldn't necessarily be rude*' but '*...just accept it*'.

Another dimension of 'acceptance' appeared rooted in how hosts interpret the host-guest relationship. For Mike at Pebble Beach and Pam at Solent House for example, 'acceptance' seemed to be about trusting guests to behave with a common level of decency and respect, arguably reflecting the spirit of mutuality and reciprocity in the host-guest relationship to which Brotherton (1999, 2000) for example, alludes. Yet other hosts seemed to recognise that, as Guerrier and Adib (2003:1399) observe, hospitality work is '*...about delivering fun but also about the "dirty work" of managing holidaymakers' complaints and excesses.*' Explaining how they manage their own emotions to deal with this, Shirley at Jaydon for example commented '*You've got to appreciate they drink*' with Marion at Newmount adding '*...you expect them to be noisy, you expect them to be loud, you expect them to get drunk, and if you expect that then you accept that*'. Denise, owner of large hotel Tipton echoed that '*When they arrive it's no good being miserable with people... Once you've agreed to take them it's your responsibility to deal with it as best you can...you just have to accept it if you take them*'.

Challenging dirty work – direct action

Alternatively, hosts may choose to directly challenge guests whose behaviour causes dirty work, where they consider that the guests have overstepped the boundaries of acceptable behaviour within the host-guest relationship. Both the breach of these boundaries and hosts' reactions to it reflect the fragility of the relationship itself (Selwyn, 2000) and that hospitality service can involve '*...complex negotiations between guests and service providers about what is and what is not acceptable behaviour*' (Guerrier and Adib, 2000:266). Such negotiations took different forms for hosts in my study. For example, Ruby at Ankara dealt with wet beds resulting from excess alcohol consumption by directly but discretely leaving notes on the pillows '*Please come down and see Ruby*' so that she took the guest '*away from everyone else*' so that '*nobody else need know*'. In contrast Celia at Brightsea regularly took her guests to court and '*won nine out of ten cases*' when faced with problems that included '*...grown men that wet beds...puke up everywhere...smash a bed. Put a hole in the wall...rip the radiators off the walls...you name it. Whatever you can think of, they do*'. Shirley at Jaydon said simply that if guests couldn't appreciate that '*everything's lovely*' then '*...they've got to go*'.

Hosts also took direct action when they had to confront guests' behaviour that caused them offence, such as drug taking or sexual activity, resonant of observations by Guerrier and Adib (2000:261). Two hoteliers in this study opted to disallow (rather than ignore or facilitate) such behaviour. Shirley at Jaydon for example was '*annoyed*' at the discovery of syringes and bacofoil in a guest's room which she took to be evidence of drug-taking, and Celia at Brightsea recalled having '*...hookers...they came with children and they were bringing people in*'. Not only did Celia find this behaviour offensive but it appeared to jar with her own values. This is exemplified in her response to one guest whom she evicted and who retorted '*You can't treat me like this – I am university graduate*'. Celia replied '*What, a graduate of the hooker school? ...Get the hell out of my hotel...*' and revealing her indignation and disgust, added '*How dare you ...bring someone in, sleep with him, with a child in the room*'. Celia's experience here also resonates with Harris and Reynolds'

(2004:345) suggestion that 'undesirable' customers include 'distasteful behaviour by families'.

Hosts might also directly challenge how guests interpret the nature of the hospitality provided. As Lashley (2000:13) notes, a characteristic of commercial hospitality is that 'the commercial and market driven relationship...allows the customer a freedom of action that individuals would not dream of demanding in a domestic setting' because 'the exchange of money absolves the guest of mutual obligation and loyalty'. Guests may interpret that privately owned hotels provide commercial hospitality in this way, and may not respect the hotel facilities or appreciate that since the hotel is also the owner's home it holds some emotional significance for the host (Lynch, 2005b). Such lack of respect for the home/hotel hybrid, together with a sense that monetary exchange 'absolves the guest of mutual obligation' (Lashley, 2000:13-14) can lead to guests abusing the facilities and creating dirty work. Mark, owner of a large hotel Dalebourne, gave a graphic illustration of such behaviour. When he learned that a guest had smashed every light bulb in his room, Mark questioned his behaviour. The guest responded by dismissively peeling off a £50 note to cover the damage. Mark's evident anger and indignation at this incident was reflected in his assessment that this guest was '*an over-paid oik*' who'd '*paid for a room so it didn't matter what he did in it as far as he was concerned*'. However, the freedom from obligation that this guest appears to have demonstrated is arguably out of place in the quasi-commercial/private hotel environment of establishments such as Dalebourne.

Avoiding 'dirty work' – preventative measures

Instead of, or in addition to, one of the other two strategies, some hosts also took steps to avoid having to deal with 'dirty work'. This was sometimes born out of their experience of having had to deal with it in the past. Celia at Brightsea for example introduced a '*group booking bond*' where '*Three is a group*' because '*it took only three to remove a toilet. Do not ask!! Do not ask!*' This was also the approach taken by Ruby at Ankara who had in the past, '*had people crash down my stairs and take shelves out...Just because they've had too much to drink*'. These hosts seem to recognise different types of jaycustomer, for example 'vandals', who Lovelock and Jones and Groeneboom suggest intentionally damage property (Harris and Reynolds, 2004) and 'drunken' behaviour as depicted by Bitner *et al* (1994).

Another strategy used by Celia at Brightsea was an elaboration of 'the speech' referred to in Theme 3. Reflecting Guerrier and Adib's (2000:261) contention that hospitality workers can find themselves 'policing' guest behaviour when confronted with the intimacies and personal habits of the guests, Celia explicitly set out the boundaries of acceptable behaviour, saying '*Please do not bring anybody back with you*', justifying that '*...because they do. And condoms are then left everywhere*'. Here, Celia clearly alludes to the sort of 'dirty work' that she anticipates being created by guests' sexual activities. Terry at Woodley was similarly blunt, telling guests "*How can I put... "We don't do violence and vomit"*", referring to the dirty work associated with 'managing holidaymakers' complaints and excesses' (Guerrier and Adib, 2003: 1399). Responses such as Celia's also resonate with Lashley's (2001:180) observation about trends in 'customer service' in the industry, that '*The Blackpool landlady of the 1940's and 1950's was not renowned for friendliness and hospitality. Indeed the notion that the customer was never right was a dominant impression at the time*'.

Some hosts also felt the need to introduce 'exclusion' policies to remove the possibility of dirty work occurring. This approach reflects the influence of social domain hospitality whereby hosts create the boundaries of a desired social order (Lashley, 2000) and

employ rules to maintain conformity to that order (Brotherton and Wood, 2000). Introduction of such exclusion 'rules' could result from previous experience, exemplified by Rebecca at Chinedale who no longer took stag and hen parties because of the damage caused by '*bedwetting and things*' which they found upsetting, together with '*the tricks they'll pull to disguise that*' such as turning a mattress over. Rich at Kamarillo also operated an exclusion policy based on past experience, explaining graphically that '*it's not worth having someone in for one night that's going to shit all up the wall, which we've and in the past*'.

Other hosts seemed guided by their own value judgements to assess whether prospective guests might cause them 'dirty work', suggesting an awareness of the potential for some guests to be 'undesirable' (Harris and Reynolds, 2004). For example, reflecting Gill *et al's* (2002) reference to hotel guests engaging in prostitution and Jones and Groeneboom's (2002) mention of guests' engaging in drug offences, Shirley at Jaydon commented on the need to '*get rid of that element*'. Here she referred to guests taken by the previous owners who they believed included '*quite a few drug addicts and ladies of the night*'. Similarly, reflecting Bitner *et al's* (1994) depiction of 'drunken' customer behaviour, Donna at Violet Court refused to take anybody at the door '*who smells of drink*' because '*I don't want to have to go into the bedrooms and clear up after somebody*'. However, in order to identify these different types of potentially undesirable guests, hosts tended to employ arbitrary criteria to assess the guest's 'suitability', these criteria being based on hosts' own value judgments. As Shirley at Jaydon put it, '*the way people were dressed, complexions and...bad teeth...usually means they're a drug case*' and '*if they've got Boots carrier bags it means they've been in rehab*'. A symbolic interactionist reading of hosts' behaviour in such exchanges with guests suggests that hosts respond to 'signals' given off by the guests – their dress, appearance, mannerisms and so on – and the emotions these signals evoke lead hosts to act in a way that maintains the 'social order' of their hotel.

TACKLING RISKY WORK

For hosts of small hotels, dealing with 'the unknown' focuses on the very fact that guests whom hosts invite into their hotels, and homes, are, unless they have become 'regular' clients, effectively 'strangers'. Thus hosts can understandably feel wary of someone coming into their premises, and to whom they often entrust their front door key, but about whom they know virtually nothing. This issue reaches to the very heart of the traditions of hospitality, that of 'welcoming' strangers into one's home, which as O'Gorman (2007:22) observes has a long history dating back to ancient times. The central role of the home in hospitality provision is depicted for example in the writings of Homer, and the Ancient Greek term '*philoxenos*' means literally '*love of strangers*' (Muhlmann, 1932:463). However, as Selwyn (2000:26) points out, this worthy attitude can be compromised by the potential for alternative 'couplings' in hospitality provision, such as hospitality's close association with its twin sister 'hostility', implying that strangers can also present dangers to hosts who may thus feel fearful of them. Hence the notion of hospitality as transformative, 'making friends out of strangers', (Selwyn, 2000:26-27) sits side by side with an underlying disquiet about how those strangers might behave, for as Selwyn also notes 'the role and recognition of the ambiguity and latent danger ever present in hospitality reinforces the realms of disorder attendant in the concept of hospitality as an ordered event'. Thus hosts of small hotels face the dilemma of considering *whether* or not to invite a stranger into their home/hotel.

However, resolving this conundrum presents difficult challenges for the host. Judgments about 'strangers' often have to be made within just a few minutes' exchange at the door. Hosts need to 'read' signs that might indicate the potential for unwelcome behaviours to

emerge during the stay, for example 'strange' or 'odd' behaviour that might upset other guests and threaten the hotel's social order (Lashley, 2000). However, making such judgements places an uneasy burden on the host who may be constantly mindful of balancing the spirit of hospitality as depicted by Telfer (2000), with a need to safeguard themselves, their families, and other guests, a point to which O'Gorman (2007) alludes. Additionally, central to dealing with this dilemma is the fact that the hotel is also the host's home, where, as Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007:42) point out, the host should have authority to invite the guest and allow him to 'transgress' the boundaries of the home. Thus these considerations to some extent mirror those of a private householder, with private domain hospitality heavily influencing commercial decisions here, often through social dimensions of hospitality such as how hosts define 'acceptable' social groups and their concern to create and maintain a certain social status. Donna at Violet Court and Pam at Solent House are illustrative of this, in not wishing to be associated with DSS clients.

Based on their judgments of prospective guests (as strangers) hosts may then try to minimise the potential for any risk or threat they may present, or seek to avoid such a risk altogether. Hosts' assessment of the perceived level of risk can be considered as constituting a 'hierarchy' of risk, characterised by an increasing potential for danger through that hierarchy.

A sense of unease

For some hosts, threat of the 'unknown' constituted a 'feeling', a sense of 'unease' about a prospective guest, not manifested into unpleasant or threatening behaviour but a cause of some disquiet. This perception of 'risk' reflects the fragility of the host-guest relationship to which Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007:33) allude in their reminder that the relationship is a 'negotiated act between host and guest' and can be 'transgressive in nature'. The challenge that assessing such risk presents to hosts is captured by Shirley at Jaydon who observed *'Well really, you don't know who's there do you?'* This was echoed by Heather at Zealands who commented *'...a couple of times I've thought "Gosh, we don't know who these people are and we've given them the key to our house."'* The effect this can have on hosts is further illustrated by Ruby's admission that for some guests, *'you just get a feeling as soon as they've arrived'* and wonder *"What are they up to?"* with the result that *'it does make you worry'*.

Hosts may respond to such feelings of unease by deciding whether or not to enter into a relationship with the prospective guest, and if they do, then to carefully negotiate its path. This approach mirrors the depiction of the host-guest relationship by Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007:39) as a 'journey of negotiations' through which social and emotional boundaries are explored to ensure continuation of the established social order of the hotel. However, in doing so hosts are also likely to be mindful of Guerrier and Adib's (2000:266) warning that they may be very vulnerable 'if guests choose to step over the boundaries'. Whether they decide to take the guest or not, hosts may question their own judgement, particularly where they tend toward a 'caring' disposition toward people who have maybe experienced some misfortune. Heather at Zealands for example, questioned her refusal of a man whom she had previously observed as drunk, but justified her actions that *'after a few drinks some people...could just go to sleep, on the other hand they could get lairy, you just don't know'*. Similarly, whilst she reluctantly took another guest whom she had thought *'looked a bit ominous'* it transpired he was completely genuine and caused no problem at all.

Hence dealing with such fragile situations appeared complicated when hosts struggled with competing influences on their decision whether or not to accept a prospective guest. For example Heather's concern for people who seemed '*down on their luck*' might naturally lead her to adopt a philanthropic emotion manager role when faced with 'strange' would-be guests. However, this might arguably be in tension with the influence of social domain hospitality and Heather's concern about how other guests might react to such 'strangers'. Thus to maintain a certain social order, Heather might be drawn into engaging in presentational, and even pecuniary emotion management (Bolton, 2005a) to maintain the social 'status quo'. Resolving such dilemmas can take an emotional toll on the host. For example when Heather told a homeless guest that she no longer had any vacancies but when in fact she did, Heather said she '*felt really mean...embarrassed*' but argued '*But what can you do?*'

Additionally, hosts such as Heather and Ruby at Ankara harboured concerns to protect both themselves and their families from 'strangers', suggesting an additional influence of private domain hospitality and the central importance of the home as 'emotional construct' (Lynch, 2005b: 41). As Heather commented, she did not want her sons '*meeting these characters when they go to the loo in the night*' with Ruby similarly expressing a need to safeguard her '*young daughter and ...two young sons*'.

Unanticipated behaviour – direct action

However, no matter how much hosts try to prevent unwelcome guest behaviour, it does nonetheless happen. Incidents that were reported in this study could all, with one exception, be considered examples of jaycustomers, that is 'customers who deliberately act in a thoughtless or abusive manner' (Lovelock, 1994 in Harris and Reynolds, 2004: 339). The one exception was when a group of male guests at Zealands had too much to drink and '*caused a bit of a stir on the stairs*' which Heather found '*a bit hairy really*' because it meant she '*can't settle*'. Although these guests could be considered as displaying thoughtless 'drunken behaviours...that consequently disrupt the ambiance of the service establishment' (Bitner *et al* 1994 in Harris and Reynolds, 2004: 342), it could be argued that their behaviour was nonetheless unintentional. In contrast, Terry at Woodley encountered guests who could be described as both jaycustomers and verbal or oral abusers (after Harris and Reynolds, 2004). A party of gay and straight women caused a night-time disturbance described by Terry thus, '*the noise was terrific...two or three of them tearing about the floor, waking everybody up*'. The incident escalated when one of the gay members of the group spoke to him the next day '*...in such a way that any man would have been "Out"*'. Terry felt he had a problem because he could not '*lay a hand on a woman. Not possible*'. Hence this situation appeared complicated by Terry's perceptions of gender, and his implication that his own identity had been challenged. This appeared evident in his description of the encounter as '*emasculating*', and that he '*lost, lost face...lost pride...lost, lost*', that he knew he was '*right*' but also knew she had '*won*'. The emotional toll also appeared significant, as he recalled he had had a '*sleepless angry angry night*'.

Another form of unanticipated behaviour that guests could present was that of violence or the threat of violence. Customers - or guests - who engage in such behaviour have been variously described as 'physically abusive customers' (Bitner *et al* 1994 in Harris and Reynolds, 2004: 342), customers engaging in 'violent crimes including physical attacks on employees and other guests' (Jones and Groeneboom, 2002 in Harris and Reynolds, 2004: 342) and Harris and Reynolds' (2004:344) own classification of 'physical abusers'. Perhaps reflecting a growth in such behaviour as reported by Korczynski and Bishop (2008:75), Terry, for example, was very aware of the potential for violence in his work as a

hotel owner, arguing *'Strangely enough I have not yet had any violence...And for that I'm incredibly grateful'*. In response to this perceived danger he used various measures to safeguard himself, including steel capped shoes and a panic alarm as well as physically preparing himself by blowing and breathing, because, as he put it *'it's half past four in the morning, they're awake and I am not'*. His fears were apparently not unfounded since, as he explained, an experience with some conference delegates was *'the nearest I came to violence'*, so much so that he felt he would *'have to hit the guy because I felt he was going to come back at me with a left hook'*. The effect his had on Terry was evident in his summation that their behaviour as *'awful, awful...It was just dreadful behaviour, dreadful'*.

Again mirroring Korczynski and Bishop's (2008) observation, Celia at Brightsea too was clearly aware of a need to protect herself and her family against violence, pointing to a padlocked gate at the top of the basement that separates them from the rest of the hotel. Her fears too were not unfounded, since *'At times I was so close to being beaten, the hand was there'* (demonstrating against her face). An interpretation of the way Celia coped with this level of risk is that she adopted a pecuniary emotion management style (Bolton, 2005a) commensurate with the customer behaviour she encountered. She exemplified, *'Get the fuck out of my hotel....Wanna hit me? Then I'll fucking well hit you back, you know? And I'll get the police here and whatever you want. But get the fuck out of here'*. Celia revealed her evident discomfiture at responding in this way, saying she would be *'shaking'* and admitted that this *'wasn't her,'* that she had cultivated this approach to deal with such situations and in doing so had *'learnt to become very hard'*. She compared this *'self'*, with her liberal use of expletives, to her previous *'self'* of polite refinement, suggesting that she had found it necessary to adopt such an *'act'* to cope with the risks she faced. Responses such as Celia's hence illustrate how hosts sometimes have to deal with guests in ways that seem alien to the traditions of *'hospitality'* as described for example by O'Gorman (2007) and Selwyn (2000). Rather, Celia's reactions are not unlike the response of holiday reps in a study by Guerrier and Adib's (2003:1414) where the reps felt *'empowered to answer back to abusive guests (at least to a limited extent)'*. Perhaps reflecting the difference between these reps working in the commercial sphere and Celia as the owner of her own hotel, Celia clearly felt free to *'answer back'* in whatever way she felt appropriate to reinforce her authority to take control of guest behaviour.

The fragility of the host-guest relationship as noted for example by Selwyn (2000) is exemplified in another situation encountered by Terry. A guest caused Terry to feel uneasy, so that his *'stomach began to growl because you've got someone in your house because you live here...someone is behaving bizarrely'*. Only when he realised that the guest was dealing drugs did Terry take precautionary measures (such as donning his protective clothing), in anticipation of possible trouble. Fortunately in this case the guest left promptly and without incident. However, as will be seen in the next section, the fragility of such situations can mean that not dissimilar circumstances can have the potential for more sinister outcomes.

Serious problems – police intervention

In some cases, hosts in my study had no choice but to call for police intervention, reflecting how serious some situations with guests could become when guests breach the boundaries of acceptable behaviour, leaving the host vulnerable and exposed to danger (Guerrier and Adib, 2000; Selwyn, 2000). The incidents in my study were wide-ranging and included an hotelier who was subjected to homophobic abuse, a situation where a guest physically attacked his girlfriend in the street, and a drug dealer who was involved in a *'gang war'*.

The case of homophobic abuse implied a challenge to the host's personal identity as a gay man. The effect on the host was clear, recalling the incident as *'frightening...quite intimidating'* when drunk stag party guests *'Smashed some of the rooms, kicked the door in...and caused a lot of trouble'*. As a result of this incident, hosts Rich and Pete refused to take stag party groups anymore. The case of the guest attacking his girlfriend could be interpreted as a threat to the social order of the hotel but also an affront to the hosts' sense of what they considered to be appropriate behaviour. The guest's violation of these codes of behaviour drew an angry, rather than frightened, response from hosts Shirley and Phil at Jaydon. As Shirley commented, when the man returned his key *'I wasn't frightened because I thought I was going to be frightened...But I wasn't. I was cross'*.

However, the third incident, involving a drug dealer, was the most graphic illustration of the level of danger that hosts could encounter. Natalie and Max, as new hoteliers, took at face value a smartly dressed guest who claimed to be visiting someone in hospital. However, he then disappeared and two rival gang members returned to collect his bag (which was full of money), claiming to be his 'cousins'. In fact they had beaten him up. The end result was that CID 'raided' the hotel and interviewed Natalie and Max separately, but later explained to them what had really gone on. It could be argued that Natalie and Max had failed to recognise the 'latent danger' present in hospitality as explained by Selwyn (2000:26-27), and had misread the signals given off by this stranger. However, in hindsight the potential danger of this experience was not lost on Natalie. She acknowledged that she and Max had been naïve in not reporting the bag of money to the police, but nonetheless recognised that if they hadn't handed over the bag, they might have been at greater risk. She reflected on the possibility of the gang members *'pulling a gun...you hear these stories. They could put a gun to us as say "You give us the bag"'*. This incident hence also illustrates the intrinsic fragility of the host-guest relationship to which Selwyn (2000) also alludes.

Screening' the 'unknown' – assertive action

Some hosts took steps to avoid the 'journey of negotiations' that the host-guest relationship could entail (Sheringham and Daruwalla, 2007:39), the first stage of this 'journey' being to welcome a prospective guest. In this regard, some hosts seemed to recognise the challenge presented by the short-time frame in which they had to 'judge' whether or not to welcome a 'stranger' into their home/hotel. Some also seemed to perceive that 'undesirable' would-be guests may be more prevalent at night. In response, some hosts, such as Sheila at Beechlands and Shirley at Jaydon sought to 'remove the problem' of assessing the potential 'danger' by adopting a policy of not answering the door after a certain time at night, although as Rich at Kamarillo contended *'You can get dodgy people in the day'...that doesn't just happen after 9 o'clock'*. Additionally, others, such as Natalie at Royden Court and Shirley at Jaydon, also took particular care as to whom they let in if they were in the hotel on their own. A third approach used was to give direct and unequivocal answers about room availability, whether true or not, to deter unwanted visitors. As Sheila said if she doesn't like the *'look of or feel of'* a particular caller she simply says that she has no vacancies. Adoption of all three approaches arguably reflects an awareness of the alternative coupling of hospitality and hostility (Selwyn, 2000) and the potential danger that the 'stranger' may present (O'Gorman, 2007). The fragility of the host-guest relationship (Selwyn, 2000) is also reflected in the potential for doorstep encounters to 'tip' into a situation of high tension or even danger. Shirley at Jaydon illustrated this in recalling an incident when, contrary to her advice, husband Phil answered the door late one night, and when he went to shut the door, the male caller said *"Don't shut the door on me"* and *'...as he said it his voice changed'*. Shirley intervened,

and Phil admitted that had she not done so, *'I don't know what the consequences would have been'*. Similarly, Donna at Violet Court realized she had *'put myself in a very difficult position'* when she answered the door in the night to find a *'huge'* drunk standing there. Although she dealt with it, she later reflected on the *'what ifs'* and *'actually got in a state'* at the realisation of what could have happened.

Yet another dimension of hosts taking assertive action was revealed by Donna who explained that as a host in her own home, *'I don't actually have any fear in my own home'*, so that *'Whoever is in here I am in control and I would always have some way of sorting it out'*. This approach resonates with Sheringham and Daruwalla's (2007: 42) argument that hosts should have *'authority'* to invite guest to *'transgress'* the boundaries of the home. For some hosts, such as Terry at Woodley, exerting that authority involved adopting a deliberate *'act'*. As Terry explained *'when that door bell rings, my shoulders stiffen...when I walk to that door...it's the John Wayne walk, because I'm in charge'*.

SUMMARY OF 'DIRTY WORK' AND 'RISKY WORK'

Dirty work and risky work are intrinsic to hospitality work but for different reasons. The former emanates from the need for hosts to *'clear up after people'*, so that the work can be perceived as *'degrading, disgusting and demeaning'* (Kreiner *et al*, 2006:621). The latter derives from hospitality being closely entwined with its *'twin sister'* hostility (Selwyn, 2000: 26) so that the traditional inclination to welcome strangers into one's home (and hotel) is juxtaposed with wariness as to the danger they might bring. This concern for the *'unknown'* is heightened for owners of small hotels where the host is not only protecting his business but also his home and family.

Emotionalities surrounding dirty work relate directly to emotions that the work elicits, such as disgust and nausea, but also emanate from the *'taint'* of being associated with such work (Ashforth *et al*, 2007:150). Its demands can also indirectly evoke feelings of anxiety where, by necessity, work such as cleaning and laundering has to be repeated day after day and to a standard that hosts impose upon themselves (Oakley, 1974). Further, dirty work created by guests bring hosts face-to-face with *'unsavoury'* guest behaviour such as excessive alcohol consumption and offensive sexual behaviour which in turn require regulation or policing. I identified a typology of three strategies hosts can employ to deal with dirty work: acceptance and no action, direct action, or avoidance through preventative measures. Turning to risky work, this can be considered to constitute a hierarchy of risk, from *'unease'*, to *'unanticipated behaviour'*, to *'serious problems requiring police intervention'* and finally, to *'screening the unknown through assertive action'*. In tackling *'risk'*, hosts generally appeared attuned to the *'latent danger'* inherent in hospitality (Selwyn, 2000:26-27) exemplified by alternative *'couplings'* such as the juxtaposition of hospitality and hostility. They also seemed to be aware of the intrinsic fragility of the host-guest relationship (Sheringham and Daruwalla, 2007:33) where situations could *'tip'* from being benign to becoming threatening. Further, and reflecting observations by Korczynski and Bishop (2008), hosts also recognised the potential for different types of *'undesirable'* guest (after Harris and Reynolds, 2004 for example). Hosts' responses to such challenges ranged from carefully assessing and negotiating the potential threat, to calling for police intervention, or alternatively taking measures to keep the danger at bay, for example by *'screening'* prospective guests *'at the door'*.

WORK-LIFE BALANCE

To draw this discussion to a close, I have selected as my last theme the challenges hosts of small hotels face in simply coping with the work that has to be done, whilst at the same

time securing some sort of 'life', both within and outside the hotel. The notion of balancing work and life demands has attracted considerable interest in recent years, for example concerning role conflict, role transitions and identity (for example Ashforth, Kreiner and Fugate, 2000; Boles, Howard and Donofrio, 2001; Kirkwood and Tootell, 2008). Recent studies in the hospitality industry also capture the significance of this issue for those working within it, for example Cleveland, O'Neill, Himelright, Harrison, Cronter and Drago (2007) and Karatepe and Sokmen (2006).

Coping with the 'work' included for example dealing with its tedium and repetitiveness, but also its pleasures. The experiences could be influenced by the extent to which a host's personality and aptitude 'matches' the work. Three further dimensions that seemed common to all hosts in my study but which were managed differently were the hours involved, the tiredness that could result, and the fact of being 'tied' to the work, both by dint of the hours but also as a result of the responsibility of ownership. The issues of long hours and being tied raised a further challenge for hosts, that of if and how they could physically, and mentally, separate themselves from the business, for example by going on holiday or even going for a walk. Additionally on a day-to-day basis a further challenge was maintaining a physical separation between the hotel as 'home' and the hotel as a 'business'.

THE WORK THAT HAS TO BE DONE

Pleasure

Taking the work itself first, it was evident that doing the hospitality work necessary to fulfil the host-guest relationship was to a large extent 'enjoyed' by hosts in my study. One source of pleasure was the inevitable interaction with guests, arguably reflecting lifestyle motivations such as meeting people 'from a wide range of backgrounds', and aligning to the host personality type of being 'people people' (Tucker and Lynch, 2004:14). However, hosts could also derive pleasure from the 'house' work, resonant of other host personality types to which Tucker refers such as 'perfect host' and 'house proud'. Further, and reflecting Oakley's (1974) analysis of housework, pleasure could derive from work that might at first appear mundane and arduous, such as 'doing the rooms', but which could elicit feelings of pride and satisfaction. Ruby at Ankara for example did '*quite enjoy*' setting up the rooms, and Donna at Violet Court expressed a sense of '*pride*' in this task. Hazel at Everdene similarly recalled the pleasure of '*going to a mess and having it tidy*'. These examples mirror Oakley's (1974) observations that 'housework' can be regarded as anything from degrading and unpleasant to creative and a source of pride. Such feelings expressed by hoteliers perhaps also suggest the influence of private domain hospitality motives, that guests constitute 'an admiring audience to an accomplished home-making performance' (Darke and Gurney, 2000:80). Additionally, hosts' view of hospitality work sometimes implied a strong identification with the work, as illustrated by Rich at Kamarillo for example who effused that '*I love cleaning, I love cleaning*'.

Pain

However, equally, there were areas of the work that hosts clearly did not enjoy and which evoked strong sentiments. Ruby at Ankara for example would '*go mad*' if she '*had to do the stairs and bathrooms*' whilst Hazel at Everdene admitted that shopping was '*a pain*' and Heather at Zealands said '*I hate doing it*' about the bedrooms. Sometimes, these feelings seemed to be associated with the '*on-going*' nature of the work, which Bert compared to '*the Forth Bridge*', but observed was '*a necessity*' and which Heather concurred '*it's got to be done*'. These sentiments reflect observations made by Oakley

(1974) that whilst housework constitutes an autonomous activity, it also imposes its own intrinsic constraints on the worker in terms of its boring, repetitive, and never-ending nature, requiring that it has to be frequently repeated. Hence as Oakley (1974:44) observes, 'the housewife is "free from" but not "free to" do the work. Arguably much the same can be said for owners of small hotels.

Negative sentiments also seemed to be attributed to particular aspects of the work, perhaps where hosts found difficulty identifying with those tasks. Hotel maintenance appeared a common culprit, which Phil at Jaydon described as '*a bit daunting*' and about which Rich admitted to feeling '*really sick...living on my nerves*' describing the worry caused by a broken boiler. However, such feelings also seemed to apply to work that demanded long hours, and which consequently impacted on hosts' own time, reflecting Cleveland *et al's* (2007) observations that long hours can impact on an individual's well being. This is illustrated in Rebecca at Chinedale's description that it is the cooking '*that grinds you down*', because '*the dinners...lengthen your day*'. The 'never-ending' nature of the work to which Oakley (1974) refers also appeared to take its toll over time. As Judy at Eastleigh admitted, she was now '*jaded*' having reached the point where '*we don't want to be here anymore*'. Thus, the nature of the work could ultimately affect a host's motivation. However, such sentiments were also evident in hoteliers who were new to the role. As Phil at Jaydon commented '*It's the same old, same old, every day, with differences*' with Terry at Woodley adding '*it never stops*'.

Capability and confidence

Some hosts alluded to feeling a lack of confidence, which seemed to affect how they approached some aspects of the work. Phil for example admitted that he could help with breakfast because then he is '*calm*', but that he cannot '*cope on my own...coordination with all the bits and pieces*'. This could be attributed to a lack of previous experience doing these aspects of 'housework', which as Oakley (1974) points out are more commonly associated with women. Max at Royden Court reported a similar sentiment, that with regard to the cooking, '*I'm all right when there's no pressure on you*'. Such experiences perhaps also echo Karatepe and Sokmen's (2006) findings that role ambiguity can affect an individual's work performance. However, general lack of experience in the industry also seemed to play a part. New hoteliers Sandra at Maple Lodge and Heather at Zealands for example commented that they were '*worried*' about doing the cooking, and Sheila at Beechlands elaborated that '*I panic. I'm scared stiff of it going wrong. I am absolutely tearing my hair out...*' These admissions mirror Lashley and Rowson's (2007) observation in their study of Blackpool hoteliers that '*...few had any work experience of hotel work, or even the hospitality sector*'.

However, it also seemed that, with experience, such early fears could be allayed. As Heather at Zealands further commented, although she initially found the prospect of '*fourteen evening meals...daunting*', after a time she felt '*I don't worry anymore*'. Humour could also be employed to diffuse stressful situations and help the host to manage his or her emotions in tackling the work. Arguably such an approach brings a sense of 'humanity' to host-guest interactions, not unlike Bolton's (2008) findings of how nurses can interact with patients. Natalie exemplified this in her recall of a situation when everyone decided to appear for breakfast at once. She explained that she '*naturally*' responded by joking with the guests '*Ah, right. OK, well which one wants to be served first??*' which had the desired effect that they '*all just laughed*'.

Unchallenging and uncomplicated

In contrast again, some hosts implied that running a hotel was 'easy', that it's not '*rocket science*' (Terry at Woodley) but that '*you can make it rocket science*' (Chas at Chesildene), suggesting that hosts can over-complicate the work. Pam at Solent House put this more baldly that although it's '*not difficult....you can make a real mess of it*'. For some, there was also a hint that the work was so easy and mundane as to not be particularly challenging, echoing Oakley's (1974) description that it can be boring, repetitive and unconstructive. As Terry at Woodley put it, '*I carry bags, I make toast...I carry bags, I answer queries*'. However, Terry also drew a comparison with his previous work, saying '*It's not like doing marketing*' suggesting perhaps that being an hotelier jars with his former personal and social identity in a professional work role. It could be argued that for Terry to adjust to his new role, he needs to invest heavily in identity work which, as Fineman (2008:5) points out is 'invariably emotional' and can be 'burdensome' when the identity sits uncomfortably with the individual's sense of self. Alvesson *et al*'s (2008:15) description might also apply to Terry, that identity work is 'the ongoing mental activity that an individual undertakes in constructing an understanding of self that is coherent, distinct and positively valued' In contrast, Derek at Quivern appeared to have 'made sense' of his role as an hotelier, comparing it to being a private householder that '*It's like having a big house*'.

WHO DOES WHAT, MATTERS

Work ethic and disposition

Work ethics and individual dispositions could affect how hotelier partners worked together. For example Bert at Haydon Lodge described himself as '*laid back*' compared to his partner Angela who is '*a bit more bouncy...boom boom boom, let's do this, let's do that*', suggesting a difference in both personality and approach to doing the work. Shirley at Jaydon depicted a similar scenario, that she and Phil were '*totally different*', that she will '*get up in the morning...set myself jobs and...get on and get done with it*' whereas Phil will say "*Do you want another cup of coffee?*" Both Bert and Shirley alluded to such individual differences being complementary, although perhaps inevitably they could also draw mixed emotions. As Shirley commented '*We have our moments. There's been a few tears. But we've also had a lot of fun as well. A lot of fun*'. However, the emotional impact of a clash of personalities was also evident, as in the case of for example Donna at Violet Court who admitted that she and Paul '*do not like each other at breakfast*' and '*have quite a few arguments*', to the extent that '*if there's going to be any stress in my life, it's breakfast time*'. A difference in approach between partners also sometimes appeared rooted in their respective motivations. As Mike at Pebble Beach exemplified, he tended to think about the future, reflecting the 'entrepreneurial ambition' to which Lashley and Rowson (2007:122) refer, whilst partner Fay was more a '*live for now*' sort of person.

Gender

Allocation of work sometimes appeared to follow gendered lines, which is perhaps unsurprising given the gendered nature of commercial hospitality and the 'housework' element of hospitality work (Guerrier and Adib, 2000; Oakley, 1974). However, in my study interpretation of gender 'boundaries' differed among hosts, where, as Ashforth *et al* (2000: 474) suggest 'individuals create and maintain boundaries as a means of simplifying and ordering the environment'. Illustrating how female hosts defined boundaries of the work they felt their male partners 'should' and/or 'could' do, Shirley at Jaydon for example

accepted that husband Phil *'hadn't done anything in the house...he never hoover or anything like that'*. Hence recognising that running a hotel together was *'a bit of a culture shock for him'* Shirley found ways to create and manage the boundaries of their respective roles. She explained *'... the thing is, you can't tell a man what to do...So it was like "Well if I go and do that do you mind doing that?" And if he went "Yeah that's OK" I thought "Right, we're in there!"'*, adding somewhat philosophically *'So that was how I personally done it...he's in charge of tea and toast and I do the rest'*. However, illustrating the potential for confusion where role boundaries overlap (Ashforth *et al*, 2000), Natalie at Royden Court was *'trying'* to get husband Max to do some of the cooking, yet felt that cleaning the rooms and making the beds was *'a lady's job'* though she acknowledged that *'Max does it really well'*. In contrast, Heather at Zealands appeared to favour some segmentation between roles which Ashforth *et al* (2000) imply aligns with clearer role identities, in this case for example, in terms of the gendered nature of the work. Heather asserted that she *'wouldn't expect'* Ken to do the cooking and that whilst he does *'showers and sinks and things'* she does the hoovering *'because men don't really hoover into the corners'*. A not dissimilar approach appeared to be adopted at Maple Lodge, but by the only male host in a team of four. Wife Sandra explained that her husband is *'very very clever at us all never knowing where he is'* that *'he's always in the garage doing something'*, adding *'the two girls and myself we get on very well but he tends to stay out of the way quite a lot'*.

Staff

Another challenge hosts faced regarding getting the work done was deciding whether or not to employ staff. Some considered this a necessity, to do the tasks they found abhorrent. So Ruby at Ankara for example *'had to'* have help with *'the hard stuff'* like the stairs and bathrooms. In contrast, hosts like Heather at Zealands found it *'just as quick'* to do the work yourself *'as to tell somebody else what to do'*. For others, the main challenge appeared to be managing staff, as Max at Royden Court admitted, that *'I can't tell someone to do it'*. Perhaps reflecting their different personalities and experience, wife Natalie on the other hand persisted with explaining to a young helper the right way to do the job, that brushing the stairs should start at the top and not the bottom, adding drily *'she got it in the end!'*

Hosts' ambivalence about taking on staff might reflect their concerns about maintaining their own standards, which as Oakley (1974) observes, can elicit feelings of worry and anxiety if there is a perception that these standards are not being met. As Heather at Zealands exemplified, when she took on a teenager to help with the bedrooms, *'I found myself going round and doing the jobs again...going round checking everything'*. Donna at Violet Court similarly anticipated that she would have to *'run up after them to make sure'* if she employed staff. Perhaps also revealing a strong identification with the work Donna added that *'no matter how much I trusted someone, I would still feel this, this is my rooms'*. Hence like Heather, Donna managed on her own.

COPING WITH THE HOURS

A frequent comment or implication from hosts was that the time involved in doing the work impacted on their own time. This could be mean day-to-day 'own time' within the hotel/home environment as well as having time 'beyond' being 'tied' to the place itself.

Daily hours – long hours

Resonant of a study in the hospitality industry by Cleveland *et al* (2007:275) that found that long and unpredictable hours could 'create individual and family-related stress', a

number of hoteliers reported the difficulty of having to stay up late, knowing they had an early start the next morning. As Rebecca at Chinedale explained, if people are in the bar *'till the early hours'*, she can't say *"That's it, I want to go to bed"*, a point echoed by Heather at Zealands who explained that *'you felt one of you had to be in there...And sometimes...it's one o'clock'*. However, she too captured the dilemma faced by the host, that *'these people are on holiday...we can't be saying "OK, bed!"'* but that *'sometimes you don't want to be standing there'*. The effect of the long hours could also be attributed to the 'never-ending' nature of the work as noted by Oakley (1974). As Rebecca further commented, the work could be *'hard sometimes'* particularly when its repetitive nature meant it *'goes on day after day, early start, late finishes'*. Donna at Violet Court echoed that *'There are times when it's very difficult, you do seem to be constantly on the go'*. Taking this still further, Terry at Woodley referred to the impact of the *'sheer volume of things to be done'* that *'it never stops'* suggesting that it was a business for a *'workaholic'* but which he is not, emphasising the difficulty of managing the hotel on his own. Yet another reason for hosts' own time being compromised was the particular nature of some tasks. A notable culprit, and resonant of an element of 'house-work' as described by Oakley (1974), was 'doing dinners'. As Rebecca reflected *'food...there's a lot of hours...that you're putting in'* a sentiment echoed by Hazel at Everdene who commented *'We do dinner, which is really becoming quite hard work'* with Bert at Haydon Lodge adding that *'dinners...take up an extraordinary part of the day'*. However, whatever the nature of the long hours, the result of being committed to them often meant that hosts felt their own time was squeezed and they also became tired, which again resonated with Cleveland *et al*'s (2007) study.

Seasonal hours

It was also revealing that, though the summer months were the busiest, the work could sometimes seem 'easier' then, largely due to its predictability. For example Chas at Chesildene and Mark at Dalebourne (a large hotel) both agreed that the summer months were easier, with Chas commenting that the work was *'very predictable'* with *'the problems...the same every day'* in spite of the relentlessness of the business leaving hosts such as Chas *'flagging'* and feeling *'absolutely shattered'*. In contrast he found winter months *'very stressful'* when guests could present with a range of different needs, and Mark too found staffing quiet periods in the winter *'terrible'*. The negative impact of the unpredictable nature of the winter trade reflects findings by Cleveland *et al* (2007) that such unpredictability can create stress for individuals and families in the hospitality industry.

BEING TIRED

As Cleveland *et al* (2007:293) further observe, the long hours that characterise hospitality work can also be associated with 'burnout and health problems' for those engaged in the work. Exemplifying the potential for this Mike at Pebble Beach recognised that, although he needed to put in *'150 hours a week'* whilst establishing his hotel, he acknowledged that *'I can't do it for long'*, questioning *'how long you can sustain that level of commitment and enthusiasm'*. In answer to his own question he added that *'I can stand tiredness for a short duration. I can put up with it as long as it's not going to last forever'*, but admitted that *'What do I feel about the work? Numb. I'm very very tired, and just numb'*. Not surprisingly tiredness was reported by other hosts. Heather at Zealands for example cited the relentlessness of the work as depicted by Oakley (1974) making the work *'very very tiring'*, that *'every single morning you have to get up and do breakfast'* and that a *'lie-in...would be lovely'*. Anne at Xanadu drew attention to a different outcome, that *'the biggest problem is that I get tired and when I get tired I get short-tempered'* alluding to the

effect that tiredness, brought on by long hours, can have on family relationships, as also noted by Cleveland *et al* (2007: 293). Additionally, reflecting Cleveland *et al*'s (2007) findings that long hours can be associated with health problems, Ellen at Eastleigh and Anne at Xanadu observed that the work is particularly difficult if hosts are ill. As Anne commented *'if you don't feel 100%...you just have to get on with it'*. In a similar vein, hosts, like anyone else, could sometimes experience tragedies such as bereavement. At these times, commitment to the business could prove beneficial. Vera at Yarmouth commented that in such circumstances it is *'your saviour. It makes you get up in the morning'* with Jenny at Farley Court adding *'it was very good because it kept me on the go and didn't let me agonise so much'*.

BEING 'TIED'

A number of hosts regarded being 'tied' to the premises as a drawback of running a small hotel. Feeling they needed 'to be there', for example to welcome guests who may be arriving late in the evening, could mean that as Ruby at Ankara put it, *'the days can be long'*. 'Being tied' could also be a function of the pattern of business. As Rich at Kamarillo explained, if people stayed for a week, *'then you know you've got time off...you can go out'*, but if they stayed odd nights *'it's constant then'*. Such observations resonate with the challenges outlined by Ashforth *et al* (2000) of creating and maintaining boundaries between the work-home interface.

Effect on relationships

Mirroring findings by Cleveland *et al* (2007:293) that long and unpredictable hours could contribute to 'marital disruptions' Mike at Pebble Beach admitted that being 'tied' in the short-term by having to do everything himself *'does put a strain on the relationship'* (meaning his personal relationship). Long term effects of such pressures were also revealed by Mary, owner of a large hotel Grasmere. She commented that *'in hindsight probably the reason we got divorced was because working together and living together was just too much'*. Reflecting another finding from Cleveland *et al*'s (2007: 293) study, that long hours could also impact on 'positive familial interactions', Anne at Xanadu admitted that *'Obviously it's difficult to have time for each other but we manage'* and Mark, owner of a large hotel Dalebourne, acknowledged that they had *'tried'* to have family time *'but it wasn't always successful...it didn't always work out'*. Nonetheless, echoing Ashforth *et al*'s (2000) explanation that work role domains can involve work-home and work-"third place" transitions (that is, other social domains), Vera at Yarmouth was adamant that *'you've got to have a separate life'*. However, the difficulties of achieving this were highlighted by, for example, Rebecca at Chinedale who said it was *'frustrating'* being so tied as it is *'very difficult to make friends'* so that guests tended to be their friends. This echoes Donna's observation that the hotel business can be *'extremely insular'*, a fact that appeared to be compounded by being the sole proprietor. As Sheila at Beechlands commented *'it's a very lonely job when you're on your own'*.

Creating private time

Some hosts found that they did become tied to the business and so changed the way they ran it to better accommodate a 'life outside'. This would appear to accord with Ashforth *et al*'s (2000:474) notion of establishing and maintaining work-home boundaries where boundaries can refer to 'physical, temporal, emotional, cognitive, and/or relational limits that define entities as separate from one another'. Illustrative of the temporal aspect, Sean and Jon at Ainsley stopped doing evening meals to give themselves more free time and Terry at Woodley *'arranged the whole running of the business so that TS has a life'*.

Sheila at Beechlands further implied a certain protectiveness toward such boundaries, saying that *'Once my guests have come, then my time's mine'*. In a similar vein but concerning the physical sense of 'boundary', Donna was clear that she and Paul had come into the business *'not wanting it to be a 24-hour prison'* with Shirley at Jaydon similarly emphasising that she and Phil either *'shut ourselves off'* in their own accommodation or go out of the hotel. Rich at Kamarillo went further here, stressing the need for both physical and temporal boundaries between the work and a private life. He commented on the importance of having their own accommodation into which they could retreat, adding *'You need your own time...Otherwise you would be on all the time'*.

For yet other hosts, 'me time' was a 'necessity' in order to function as a hotelier. Such a strategy mirrors the use of 'transition rituals' by US service agents moving between front-stage and back-stage roles as reported by Ashforth, Kulik and Tomiuk's (2008:5). Marion at Newmount for example detailed her morning 'routine' involving a pot of coffee and having a shower, saying that *'that routine puts you in a certain frame of mind. And that whatever happens through the day it doesn't really matter'* provided she has *'that little period in the morning, it's only about an hour...that is my time, that is me time'* and that *'is the only me time'*. Marion stressed how important this routine was for her, that *'If the whole hotel fell down round about my head I'd deal with it, as long as I've had my shower in the morning!'*

However, 'private time' could still be interrupted by the demands of the business, and hosts could find this permeability of role boundaries annoying, since as Ashforth *et al* (2000) observe, such permeability can exacerbate role conflict by confusing the two domains (such as work and private time). Natalie at Royden Court exemplifies this, explaining that she found it *'difficult'* if in the evening *'we've finished all our duties and we're watching a film and relaxing and the phone rings late at night'*, describing such an intrusion as *'a bit annoying to be honest'*. This interrelationship between 'business' time and 'private' time also accords with Max's astute observation that, although hosts can have 'free time' it is different to *'being employed, when you have downtime to relax'*, reflecting Oakley's (1974:44) observation of housewives being "free from" but not "free to" do the work. In a similar vein Heather at Zealands felt that *'there is no privacy'* and that at times she thinks *"Oh, just go away and leave me in peace"*. However, as Terry at Woodley commented *'You sacrifice your privacy...at some level you are on duty 24 hours a day when you are here'* suggesting that, in his view, no matter how hoteliers try to create and maintain domain 'boundaries', for example between the work and private time, that these may to some extent remain illusory.

Protecting private time

However, some hosts did appear to successfully separate business and private time, by taking holidays. Marion at Newmount for example considered this a *'necessity'*, with Bert at Haydon Lodge agreeing that he and Angela *'have to'* take holidays, whilst Hazel at Everdene bluntly advocated *'work your guts out...and then have a holiday'*. Yet others also sought to delineate the business and private time, even if this was simply because, as Max at Royden Court commented, *'you just need to get out of the house'*. For others this took the form of a transition between work and a "third place" (Ashforth *et al*, 2000:473), illustrated by Rebecca at Chinedale who continued a part-time teaching job alongside her role in the family hotel business. She explained that this gave her a break from the family which she considered important because working with family could be *'hard work...very hard work'*. A final example resonates with Cleveland *et al*'s (2007:293) findings that long hours can contribute to 'marital disruptions'. Perhaps in recognition of

this, Mike at Pebble Beach considered the four days he had taken off since starting the business to be a 'necessity' - three '*to get married*' and the fourth '*to stay married!*'

Protecting private space

Finally, and to close this discussion, I return to a characteristic of small hotels that distinguishes them from their larger corporate counterparts and which significantly influences how owners manage the host-guest relationship, that the hotel is also the owner's home. As O'Gorman (2007) notes, the significance of 'the home' in providing hospitality has a long tradition, with the central role of '*oikos*' (home, household) being depicted in the writings of Homer. Sheringham and Daruwalla (2007:42) echo this point with their emphasis on how the physical setting of the home/hotel can influence the host-guest relationship. They contend that 'The concept of place is important within the abstraction of hospitality helping to build further the notion of inclusion and exclusion. The host must be clearly linked with a sense of place that they define as their own and have control over. Here the place must assert a sense of the host's identity and their sense of self'. They elucidate that the implication for hosts is that they recognise 'the boundary of self and other' where the host has authority to 'invite' the 'other' into his place. The home thus constitutes the 'stage' for negotiating the social relationship between host and guest (Goffman, 1957). So, whatever level of attachment hosts felt toward the hotel as 'home', (Lynch, 2005b:41) there seemed to be a general feeling among hosts in my study that one's 'private space' should be protected from business intrusion. Not surprisingly then, I encountered hosts who had felt annoyed when this privacy was threatened or even violated.

Sean at Ainsley admitted to having '*shouted at guests*' who stepped over the boundary of his own private space, saying '*I will get very cross. It's my own personal space and my home...They're guests in your home. And I object*'. To illustrate this, partner Jon recalled how a guest arrived at the hotel and took himself through to the garden, ignoring the 'Private' signs on the doors. Sean pointed to a similar transgression when another guest ignored the 'Strictly Private' notice on the door of their accommodation. Conveying his astonishment and indignation Sean explained, '*I was standing there in my pants, choosing what I was going to wear and a guest walked straight in!*'

However, others were even more uncompromising in their reinforcement of what they considered 'acceptable' boundaries if such transgressions occurred (Sheringham and Daruwalla, 2007). Hazel at Everdene for example said '*I've only had one person through and he was swiftly despatched!*' She added that she had little sympathy for other hoteliers who find intruders in their own private space, saying that she tells them "*Well that's your own fault. Lock the door*". All these experiences reflect the dilemma for hosts where guests 'pay to stay in private homes, where interaction takes place with a host...usually living upon the premises and with whom public space is, to a degree, shared' (Lynch, 2005a:2) because 'procedures in the home are intended to give control over space, which in a hotel is purchased as a right'. Lynch refers here to owners of commercial homes, but it is no surprise that this issue is pertinent to a number of hoteliers in my study whose establishments could be considered commercial homes (Lynch 2005a: 2). Thus hoteliers such as Sean and Jon found that their private space became a negotiated area, reflecting the fragile nature of the host-guest relationship.

SUMMARY OF WORK-LIFE BALANCE

Since for owners of small hotels the business also constitutes their home, it would be easy for the needs of the business to overrun their whole lives, giving them little or no time or

space for privacy and private time. The way hosts cope with balancing 'the work' and 'having a life' is shaped by their perceptions towards the work itself and the extent to which they identify with it, together with their desire and capacity to safeguard a 'life', both within and beyond the hotel environment.

The work involved in owning a small hotel evokes mixed emotions, including pleasure, pain, anxiety and boredom, reflecting Oakley's (1974) observations of housework, with the emotion experiences fashioned by each owner's past experience, motivations and disposition. Humour can often lighten the load of the tedium and defuse the stress of peaks in work demands, such as facing a dining room full of guests all wanting freshly cooked breakfasts at the same time. Additionally, careful assignation of work tasks to suit differing personalities can help align the person to the role, to avoid the role ambiguity described by Karatepe and Sokmen (2006). However, this itself is influenced by gender perceptions of the work, such as what constitutes '*a lady's job*'.

However, universally held feelings about the work were that the hours are long and that this leads to tiredness, which in turn can trigger frayed tempers. However, hosts can generally cope with this in the knowledge that the work intensity is for a fixed duration that is until the end of the summer season. Indeed the unpredictability of winter trade is considered more '*stressful*' than the known workload of the seasonal period. These findings reflect those of Cleveland *et al* (2007) that long hours in the hospitality industry can impact on the wellbeing of hospitality workers. Tiredness does of course derive from the nature of the work itself, described generally as '*very hard work*'.

In contrast to the universality of tiredness, hosts varied in the extent to which they felt 'tied' to the business, with some feeling obliged to 'be around'. However, they also recognised how this impacts on family life and personal relationships, as observed by Cleveland *et al* (2007), though ironically, 'being around' could also mean that it gave them more time 'together'. Others however, set out from the start to ensure they did not live in a '*24-hour prison*', organising the business to provide themselves with a life outside '*of sorts*', even if this meant losing some business, implying a need for work-home boundaries as suggested by Ashforth *et al* (2000). This response reveals how the balance of business and lifestyle can be more important than commercial success. Indeed, some are so adamant about this that holidays are viewed as '*a necessity*'. However, *protecting* private time could prove problematic when, for example, phone enquiries interrupt a quiet evening. This can feel '*annoying*' and intrusive, though hosts generally accept that '*you sacrifice your privacy*' at some level. Protecting private *space* also varies among small hoteliers, reflecting how the relative (emotional) importance of the 'home' holds different levels of significance for individual hosts (Lynch, 2005b). Where the emotional attachment is significant, hosts can feel a fierce desire to protect 'the home' and can feel '*very cross*' if guests transgress the public/private boundary, for example by walking into areas marked 'Private'. The emotional impact of such intrusions exemplify not only the emotional importance of the home to individual hosts but that in the home/hotel hybrid 'place' becomes a mean to map the negotiated level of hospitality between host and guest' (Sheringham and Daruwalla, 2007:42-43).

Chapter 10

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In this chapter I bring together the starting point for my research (my research questions), a synthesis of the meta-themes detailed in my Discussion (Chapter 9), the strengths and limitations of my study, my suggestions for future research, and my personal reflections.

THE BEGINNING – RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The principal research questions I sought to address in this study were:

- 1. How do owners of small hotels interpret and experience the host-guest relationship?*
- 2. How do owners of small hotels interpret and employ 'emotion management', to establish and negotiate the host-guest relationship?*
- 3. How does the host-guest relationship affect, and become shaped by, 'emotion management' in the small hotel?*

INTEGRATION – SYNTHESIS OF META THEMES

This study revealed that owners of small hotels, who can be considered 'hosts' in the host-guest relationship, differ in the extent to which they perceive their connections with guests as a relationship. At one extreme was the view that the whole notion of a 'relationship' is a chimera because guests are customers and hosts their servants in a transactional interaction. This was contrasted with a feeling that the transactional element of hospitality provision almost 'violates' the idea of a 'relationship' with the guest, with the sense of a 'relationship' seen as integral to host-guest interactions. However, most hosts intimated a relational interpretation of hospitality provision through the way they described the 'relationship', so for the purposes of this thesis, the host-guest interaction will continue to be termed 'relationship'.

A universally held view however, was that *interactions* with guests are 'part of the job'. For some hosts, the emotional effort needed appeared minimal, where the host identified and felt comfortable with, 'interacting', whilst for others it required effort to 'perform' this function. However, an overall impression was that presentational emotion management tended to predominate. Hosts' descriptions of the host-guest relationship revealed it to be characterised by three interactional strands that were neither mutually aligned nor mutually exclusive; informality, 'knowing' the guest, and 'relating' to guests. All three dimensions reinforce the tendency for hosts to perceive the host-guest relationship as relational, mirrored for example in the use of symbolism by both host and guest. Hosts commonly employ 'personal touches' to nurture their relationships with guests, whilst guests often express their appreciation through 'thank-you' gestures. Such symbolic interactions tend to be limited to proxy gestures in the large corporate setting, where 'knowing' each guest personally is an elusive notion.

Consistent with their interpretation of the host-guest relationship, small hotel owners tended to choose to employ two host roles; the 'professional' and the 'facilitator', both of which are characterised by 'friendliness', reflecting the generally informal and sometimes intimate culture of the small hotel. In executing these roles, hosts demonstrate their capacity for flexible agential emotion management, drawing primarily on a presentational

approach, but are also able to employ prescriptive and philanthropic strategies when considered appropriate. The relative autonomy they enjoy here suggests a tendency to be 'free to' behave as active social agents (Giddens, 1997), reflecting their status as owners of the hotels. Their scope for flexible emotion management also resonates with Bolton's call for greater human connectedness through more 'natural' social interactions.

Further, mirroring their different personalities, prior experience, and identification with the work, hosts variously perform these roles through anything from 'no acting' (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993) to a deliberate act (Hochschild, 1983) and, not uncommonly, a mix of the two. Sometimes the 'actor's mask slips to adopt more 'natural' behaviour toward the guest 'audience' whilst at other times the 'natural' performer surreptitiously dons the mask of impression management to 'woo' the invited audience of 'the guest' (Goffman, 1959). Such flexibility not only accords with employment of flexible emotion management but also suggests that hosts 'read' the different emotional needs of their guests. The latter aligns with Bolton and Houlihan's (2005a) point that customers are not homogenous. It is also apparent that the inexperienced or reluctant host can 'learn' to 'act', with the act then evolving into a 'natural' performance. This feature of host performance suggests a departure from Goffmanian thinking of 'trained' social interaction, toward a closer alignment with Stanislavski's notion of Method Acting that can ultimately effect a 'natural' performance (Hochschild, 1983).

The emotion manager roles described here are employed flexibly by hosts across private, commercial and social domains (Lashley, 2000) to manage guest behaviours. In this regard, the small hotel host is characterised by having the freedom to shape and affirm what social boundaries he or she feels are appropriate to secure the status, stability and security of the hotel that the owner desires. However, establishing such boundaries brings with it the need to negotiate their maintenance in the light of inevitable guest transgressions of those boundaries. Hence hosts of small hotels find themselves having three further roles 'imposed' upon them through the circumstance of errant or unwelcome guest behaviour. These are the 'carer', the 'regulator' and the 'policeman'. However, even within these 'imposed' roles, hosts still enjoy a considerable degree of freedom as to what emotion management strategies they adopt, from a negotiated stance to a more controlled approach. This relative autonomy can be contrasted with front-line staff in large corporate hotels required to comply with prescriptive or pecuniary emotion management strategies, in the form of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983; Ritzer, 2004).

However, the very need for hosts to adopt these roles to manage guest behaviours reminds us of the intrinsically fragile nature of the host-guest relationship (Sheringham and Daruwalla, 2007), demanding appropriate emotion management responses to deal with the range of guest behaviours that might arise. Hence, here too hosts show the capacity for flexible emotion management, generally employing a presentational emotion management strategy, but also prescriptive and philanthropic approaches. To these I have added a fifth – the 'personalized' emotion manager role – that complements Bolton's typology by providing a framework for managing the intimate and sometimes long-term host-guest relationships that emerge where guests almost take on the status of 'family friend'. Hosts' ability to move between and across the typology of the five host roles I have identified resonates with Simpson and Carroll's (2008) argument that 'role' needs to be dynamic to support shifts in identity construction. Arguably this is the case for the small hotel host, who engages in identity work to 'perform' whatever 'act' is needed to fulfil a particular host role. Two of the host roles I have identified - 'regulator' and 'policeman' – are also salutary reminders of particular forms of work these guests can create that present significant challenges to hosts, and which they have to manage. These are 'dirty work' and 'risky work'.

Dirty work presents a challenge to small hotel hosts, not only as an intrinsic element of hospitality work (Guerrier and Adib, 2000) and the emotions this can elicit, but also because it can pose a threat to owners' pride in how they present their hotels and their homes (Darke and Gurney, 2000). It can also be generated when guests behave as if they are absolved of the reciprocal obligations of hospitality through the monetary exchange characteristic of commercial hospitality, rather than recognising the commercial/private hybrid nature of the small hotel. Thus when guests take the attitude that 'I've paid for it so I can do as I like', they fail to show respect for the small hotel as constituting the owner's home, but instead align with the notion that the relationship is 'commercial' and thus affords them freedom to act in ways that would not be expected in the domestic setting of private hospitality. The way small hotel hosts cope with dirty work is shaped by their personalities, experience, and their capacity to deal with the emotion work it creates, such as dealing with the consequences of guests' excesses of alcohol. Influenced by these factors, hosts can opt for one of three strategies that I identified in this study; to accept the inevitability of dirty work and take no action, to directly confront guests who create it, or to avoid it happening by employing preventative measures.

Risky work is another challenge facing the small hotel host, emanating from the intrinsic nature of hospitality. They face the dilemma of reconciling the hospitality tradition of welcoming the stranger into one's home with the danger of the 'unknown' that stranger can represent, where the uncertainty of the latter can elicit fear and unease in the host (O'Gorman, 2007). This paradox of hospitality provision reflects Selwyn's (2000) contention that hospitality is closely aligned with its twin sister hostility. Hence the owner of a small hotel has to judge whether or not the 'stranger' can be trusted to be a guest in the hotel, and home. Thus another dimension that shapes how hosts respond to this perceived risk is to what extent they feel a need to protect themselves, their families and their home, from a stranger who can present an element of risk.

This study revealed that hosts' strategies for dealing with such risky work aligns with a hierarchy of risk that the potential guest is perceived to represent. The first level of the hierarchy is a sense of unease, followed by the more worrying possibility of unanticipated behaviour, through to the potential for serious incidents requiring police intervention, to finally a need or preference to screen the potential risk through assertive action, by 'keeping it at the door', to remove the possibility of the risk being manifested within the hotel. Moving through this hierarchy, hosts employ different levels of emotion work, with 'unease' commonly causing the host 'to worry' compared with hosts becoming 'very hard' when tackling the threat of violence that can accompany unanticipated behaviours. Having to respond to guest behaviour in this way elicits further emotional consequences, with hosts being left 'shaking' by the experience for example. Taking assertive action can also make hosts feel 'uncomfortable', with some admitting that it is an aspect of the work they like least. However, their status as hotel owners affords them a feeling of being 'in control' or being 'in charge', reflecting the relative autonomy the owner of a small hotel feels compared with their larger corporate counterparts. This is also in no small measure a reflection of hosts' emotional attachment to the hotel as their home (Lynch, 2005b), though the degree of attachment varies according to the individual owner's disposition.

The small hotel host's emotional attachment to the hotel as home also contributes to the strategies they employ to decide and control who is 'the guest' in the host-guest relationship. Here again, their relative autonomy compared to more commercial providers is evident. It is not uncommon for example, for hosts to prefer to refuse a guest they consider 'unsuitable' and thus lose business, rather than take the custom with the possibility of dirty work, risky work and additional emotion work the guest may create. The small hotel host's freedom to behave in this way is also not divorced from the

predominance of a mix of business and lifestyle motives amongst these owners, with only a relatively few presenting purely commercial interests, though this freedom could be militated by straightened financial circumstances such as when the host is building the business and has to take 'anybody and everybody' for a time.

However, beyond assessing whether potential guests might cause additional work, hosts are also influenced by their own value-sets, and sometimes prejudices, and the social identity they wish to portray through their hotel image, such as the status of being able to boast a 'four diamond' hotel grading. Some adhere to a strict set of criteria as to who is 'suitable', in order to 'control' who is the guest. This means using presentational emotion management to maintain the stability of the social order the owner has established. However, others employ looser emotion management strategies, weighing up a potential guest's suitability through 'judging and deciding' whether they 'fit' the particular hotel environment. Here, hosts adopt a 'negotiated' stance to establish the host-guest relationship, maybe rejecting the guest, often indirectly through the use of 'ruses and excuses', but also sometimes deliberately nurturing the 'ideal' guest, such as the 'regular' client. They may also employ other emotion management strategies such as philanthropy, when, for example, their own values of human concern for people who are 'down on their luck' compromise their feelings of disquiet about a guest's appearance and 'strange' demeanour. In both cases of control or negotiation, the use of value-laden judgments to assess 'suitability' is commonplace, often using quite arbitrary criteria such as the manner of dress, presence or absence of luggage, and 'signs' of drug-taking or alcohol abuse. Overall, the host of the small hotel displays significant scope for 'free will' to determine who is 'the guest' and whether or not to embark on a 'host-guest relationship' at all, thus eschewing any notion of being 'controlled' by macro power influences such as customer sovereignty. Rather, and particularly where a negotiated stance is employed, hosts seem to adopt a more Foucauldian approach to determining the power balance in the host-guest relationship.

Encompassing the ways small hotel hosts manage the emotionalities involved in establishing and negotiating the host-guest relationship as identified in this study, is the nature of the host, and how his or her personality and motives shape how he or she copes with balancing the demands of the work with securing a 'life', both within and beyond the hotel. So for example, hosts' individuality shapes how they perceive the work itself as pleasurable, painful, challenging or menial. Their perceptions of the work in turn influence their identification with it, and consequently the emotion work required to perform it. Hence a close alignment here may mean that little emotion work is required, whilst misalignment can mean the emotion demands are significant. Similarly, hosts adopt different approaches to being 'tied' to the business, with some safeguarding their 'private time' from the outset, eschewing the idea of a '24-hour prison' and organizing the work around that, whilst others feel an obligation to 'be around' and accept all the consequent frustrations that this can entail. Hence private time can be 'built in', with some hosts viewing holidays and leisure time as a 'necessity', whilst for others it is 'snatched' at 'odd' times throughout the day and year. However *protecting* that time can still prove problematic with the business sometimes inevitably 'intruding', causing annoyance to the host.

As with managing private time, managing private space, protecting the 'home' element of the hotel, also varies in its importance to individual hosts, reflecting their different levels of emotional attachment to the 'home'. Whilst some loss of privacy is generally acknowledged, guest transgressions into areas marked 'Private' tend to cause considerable upset and annoyance, with the limited privacy the 'home' area affords feeling violated. However, the individual nature of perceptions toward managing the 'home' space is starkly reinforced through two contrasting views expressed in this study, one that 'it's

our home, every room of it' to another who felt the hotel and private area 'can never be home'.

STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

STRENGTHS

1. An overall strength of this study is its interdisciplinary nature, drawing as it does on sociological and psychological traditions to examine host-guest dynamics through the lenses of 'hospitality' and 'emotionality', whilst also integrating the phenomena of power and identity to strengthen the insights accrued.
2. The choice of a qualitative interpretive methodology is appropriate to research 'emotion', to capture the holism and contextual significance of emotional nuances articulated by research participants. Additionally, adopting this paradigm responds to calls for more qualitative studies in hospitality, to better understand the nature of the host-guest relationship.
3. My choice of small hotels as the primary research setting provides a fresh and important insight to hospitality research, building as it does on work in commercial home enterprises. Additionally, since small hotels tend to operate across hospitality domains, an understanding of host-guest relations in this context can benefit the commercial sector, which Hemmington and Lashley argue can learn from private domain hospitality.
4. The conceptual framework I have developed to inform this study has interrogated ontological and epistemological assumptions and challenges intrinsic to the two principal domains of literature that are pertinent to this research, the 'host-guest relationship' and 'emotion management'. Examining points of intersection and comparison between these two areas has been complemented by introducing the lenses of power and identity to strengthen my understanding of how and why the phenomena of 'hospitality' and 'emotion' interrelate in the context of the small hotel.
5. Employment of semi-structured interviews using an open question framework and technique (drawing on my previous research interviewing experience) encouraged my research participants to share with me their detailed and insightful descriptions and explanations of their experiences, using narrative examples.
6. My use of narrative analysis has captured the richness and contextual significance of my data whilst my concurrent use of qualitative data coding has provided the academic rigour to identify justifiable analytical categories from the data, from which analytical themes have been determined that are firmly grounded in that data.

LIMITATIONS

1. The benefits of choosing qualitative inquiry are limited to some degree by its subjective nature, which, whilst acknowledged as a strength can also be considered a limitation. Qualitative researchers can be criticised for compromising the credibility of their research by contaminating the data analysis with their own values and ideas. Hence selection and interpretation of data can be challenged. I have been acutely conscious of this potential drawback and have addressed this through my rigorous approach to data handling, constantly revisiting my original data and critically examining my own interpretations of them in the light of my conceptual framework.

2. My interest in the hospitality industry as the setting for this research was balanced by my lack of prior knowledge and experience of it. This therefore presented me with significant challenges, both conceptual (identifying and critiquing relevant literature) and methodological (gaining access to suitable hotel settings and securing audiences with hoteliers).
3. A criticism that could be levelled at my sample of hotels is that, since they were recommended to me by members of the local trade association, the Bournemouth Area Hospitality Association (BAHA), they are likely to have presented 'positive' views. It can be generally assumed that this association attracts the more 'reputable' hotelier, whereas had 'less reputable' establishments been explored, arguably they are likely to have given different views. However, even within the potentially 'positive' sample I investigated, there were some 'rogue' examples and 'Basil Fawlty' moments, together with comments about other less favourable hotels. Hence whilst I recognise a potential for positive bias in my sample, I consider this has been to some extent balanced by the nature of my data collection.
4. My data collection could be considered limited by the fact that it was only (by necessity) collected during quiet times of the year (October/November and February/March). Arguably, had I been able to secure interviews during the summer season I may have captured quite different perspectives. However, this was not a feasible option due to the nature of the hotel business.
5. A limitation of my research design could be that I have only captured the host, and not the guest, perspective of the host-guest relationship. I recognise this and did consider incorporating the latter, but decided this was also not a viable option, because to do so could have compromised the relationships I had established with my participants, by pushing their goodwill too far.
6. Finally, as with any qualitative study, demonstrable rigour of data analysis and interpretation can come under scrutiny, particularly as it is generally acknowledged that guidelines for this process are limited compared to quantitative studies. I recognise for example that narrative analysis itself can be considered limited by research participants' capacity to draw on an appropriate range of discourses to express themselves. This could be particularly so when people are trying to explain emotion experiences.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

I have considered opportunities for future research from both conceptual and methodological perspectives. I have also considered taking my research further within the hotel sector but also exploring my ideas in new organisational contexts.

Within the hotel sector, a further methodological challenge I could meet is to complement the research I have conducted for this thesis with an exploration of the guest perspective of the host-guest relationship in small hotels. Areas of interest that could be examined are, for example, how guests perceive the hotels as the owner's home and how they feel they 'ought' to behave in that setting compared to how they might behave in corporate enterprises.

In terms of conceptual developments, findings from this study that I consider worth exploring in the large corporate hotel sector are the scope for symbolism within a

relational interpretation of the host-guest relationship, with the potential for the 'personalized' emotion manager role I have identified in this study to complement Bolton's emotion manager typology. This approach is consistent with Lashley's call for exploring how the commercial sector can learn from experiences in other hospitality domains, such as the experiences of the small hotel, characterised as it by a mix of commercial, private and social hospitality. However, this avenue of research would also be interesting from the perspective of customer relationship management. As such, the potential for employing a 'personalized' emotion role in customer-interface scenarios in other industries presents another potential research opportunity.

Other findings from this study that would be worthwhile exploring in the commercial hotel sector are the flexible agential emotion management behaviours revealed by small hotel owners. It would be valuable to explore if, and to what extent, these behaviours could be employed by customer-facing employees in a commercial setting. Hence questions that could be asked are whether corporate bodies can 'allow' staff to draw on a range of emotion management strategies to behave more 'naturally' with the guest, for example by employing the 'gift' of philanthropy and the presentational strategy of being 'one's self', in contrast to the strictures of prescriptive or pecuniary regimes. Arguably, to do so could draw on Lashley's work (2001) on 'empowering' front-line staff, but extending this to permit employees to adopt a more Foucauldian approach to negotiating power with the guest rather than having to comply with macro emotionologies such as assumed customer sovereignty. Whilst such 'flexibility' might jar with commercial expediency, its potential benefits of, for example, 'controlling' jaycustomer behaviour (Harris and Reynolds, 2004) and *really* empowering front-line staff to manage the host-guest relationship, might elicit a more satisfactory experience for each party, 'host' and guest. Here, corporate counterparts could draw on the typology of host roles I have identified in this study, which, even though three are imposed on hosts by dint of the circumstance of unwelcome guest behaviours, they are nonetheless still executed with considerable autonomy.

I further contend that such exploration of agential emotion management, within the context of a *real* empowerment culture, could also be explored in industries and sectors beyond hospitality. First, the potential for more 'natural' customer interactions could be examined, through employment of a range of emotion strategies, in the recognition that customers are not homogenous but include, for example, the 'functional transactant' who wants to complete the transaction as quickly as possible, as well as the 'moral agent' who recognises the customer interaction as a 'socially relevant activity' (Bolton and Houlihan, 2005). A confluence of the concepts of agential emotion management and empowerment could also be examined in the context of how front-line staff can deal with the possibility of customer abuse. This 'problem' of the abusive customer has been increasingly documented in recent years, with few sectors escaping its manifestation in some form or other. Its seriousness is captured by Korczynski and Bishop (2008) who suggest such behaviour be reframed as 'customer bullying', a phenomenon that is ripe for the challenge of exploring appropriate emotional responses.

A more ambitious line of further inquiry, but one that interests me greatly, is to revisit Goffman's analysis of social interaction in the context of how contemporary emotionologies shape the behaviour of customers and organisational members of today's organisations. What I find interesting is that Goffman emphasised socially grounded 'rules of conduct' between social actors, where 'social rules' can act as regulators of divergence from socially expected behaviour. Hochschild (1979, 1983) made a similar point about the role of feeling rules that guide social actors in how they feel they 'ought' to behave (or not). Drawing a link between such social rules and prevailing feeling rules, Goffman

suggested that 'managing' social interactions involves self-control over emotions, through, for example 'character training' and 'socialization' (Goffman, 1967).

More than four decades on from Goffman's work, the prevailing emotionologies that shape behaviour in wider society today, and organisations in particular as microcosms of that society, present a very different backdrop for social interaction. On the one hand, as already noted, there is a growing phenomenon of customer abuse, which arguably suggests slippage in emotional self control, even to the point that sometimes the expected regulatory power of 'master' emotions such as shame and guilt seem to fail. Against this there has also evolved in contemporary society an 'impression management obsession' fuelled in no small measure by the 'celebrity' image—making popular culture against which individuals in society can 'imagine' their own identities. These trends in imagery and impressionism have been eagerly adopted by the corporate world, manifested for example through pecuniary emotion management toward the customer and prescriptive emotion management within corporate cultures. Indeed the former has reached the stage that customer interactions often assume a false, and inappropriate, intimacy. So business relationships seem to be shaped by two different 'emotion' challenges. There is the inappropriate loss of emotional control by the customer on the one hand and the masking of emotion through the artificiality of ubiquitous impression management on the other.

These emotion backdrops present different challenges to contemporary managers. The first involves charting new waters through a decline in social mores that impacts on how businesses operate. Staff need to be empowered to be 'policemen' or 'regulators' if necessary and be fully supported by a management structure that does not tolerate inappropriate customer behaviour, no matter what the commercial cost. Managerial responsibility here could be considered integral to business ethics. The second issue is more complex since the impressionism it involves is nothing new and indeed reflects Goffman's original dramaturgical analysis. However, what is at issue is the *appropriateness* of its contemporary use. The pervasiveness of imagery can result in organisational cultures being imbued with such inauthenticity that it is difficult to discern any 'real' selves behind the masks. This can in turn mean that as emotion managers, the corporate manager or employee is constrained within a prescriptive role, never 'allowing' themselves, or 'being allowed', to present the 'self' or to engage in the spontaneous acts of human connectedness afforded through a philanthropic role.

Both the scenarios I have depicted here have arguably 'lost' some element of the emotional regulation implied in Goffman's work and the human connection to which Hochschild and Bolton refer. I suggest examining both phenomena – customer abuse and organisational impressionism – through revisiting Goffman's framework on social action, Hochschild's conceptualisation of feeling rules, and Bolton's emotion manager typology, together with drawing on the social actor roles I have uncovered in this study. I contend that this could shed new light on how managers of contemporary organisations might rebalance the emotionalities of their business interactions, both internal and external, to capture a more 'natural', and arguably sustainable, social order.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

The journey to completing this thesis has provided immense pleasure (and a little pain!) by providing me with the intellectual challenge I sought when I embarked upon it. The experience has developed the criticality of my thinking and writing, with confidence in my own work growing as my findings and interpretations have crystallised into the final synthesis given in this chapter. To achieve this, I am indebted to the hoteliers who agreed to be interviewed and I appreciate the candour, humour and pathos with which they told

me their 'stories'. They have become and remain familiar characters that have enlivened my thesis. In Goffmanian terms I feel this is the 'Final Act' of the play, but, reflecting the view of one of my participants that 'Well life's an act, isn't it?' I also look forward to taking my work to another 'stage'. When I do so, it will be from the invaluable springboard this thesis has provided. I have thoroughly enjoyed sharing the insights to emotion management in the host-guest relationship that I have uncovered and discussed in this work. I hope that you, the reader, have enjoyed it too.

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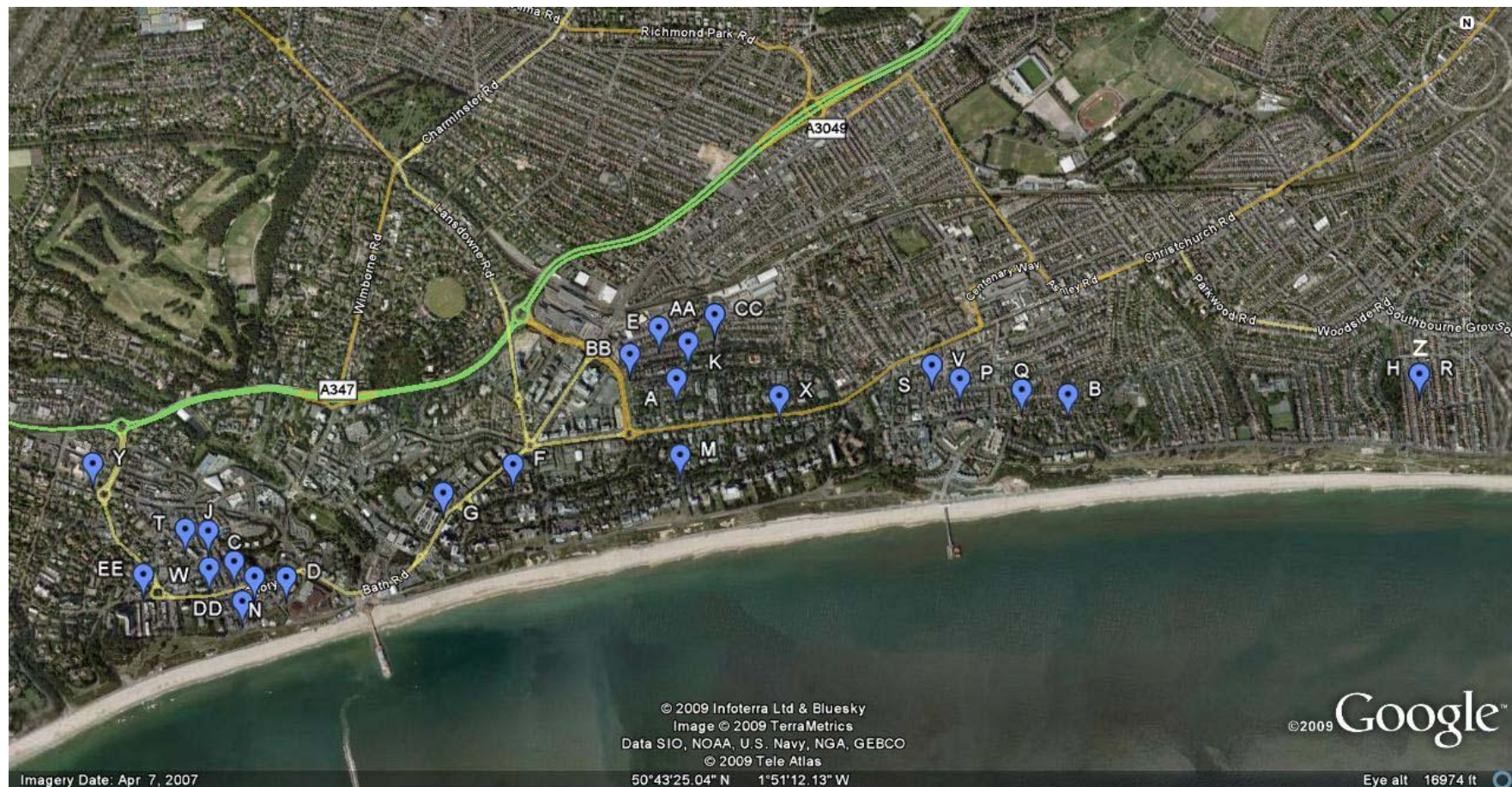
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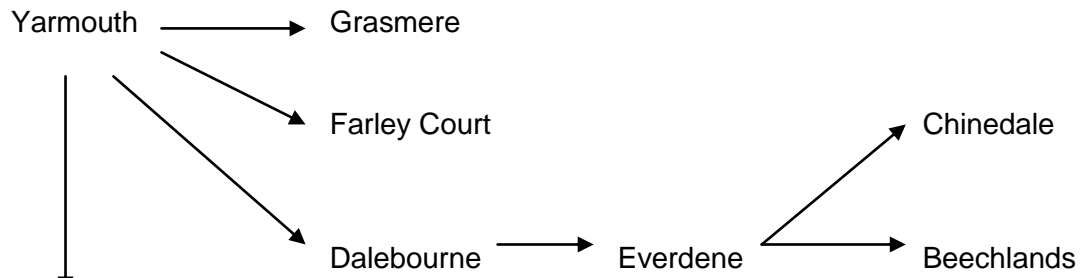
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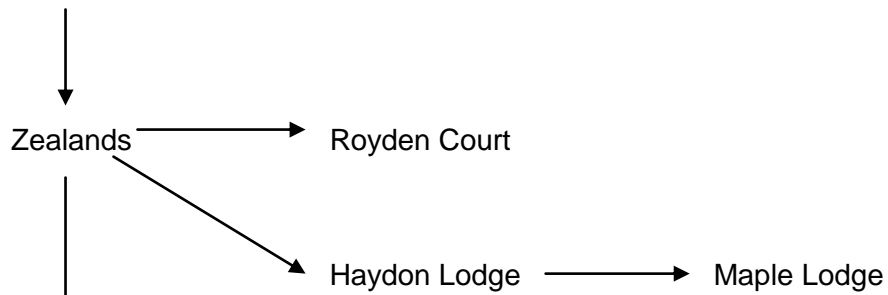


SAMPLING PROCESS

SNOWBALLING

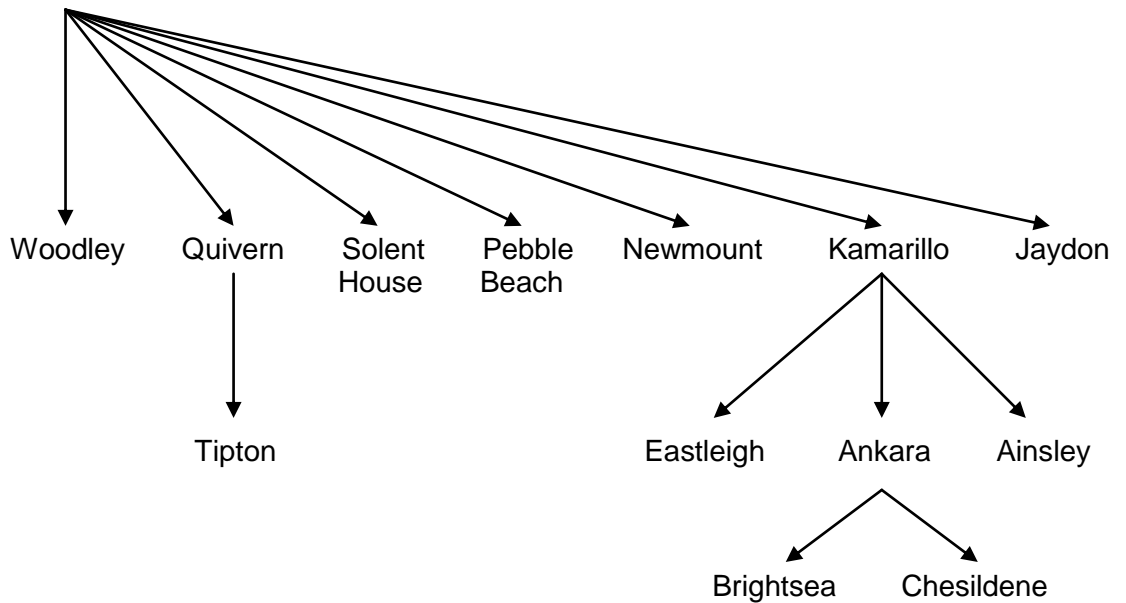


BAHA



Xanadu

Violet Court



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